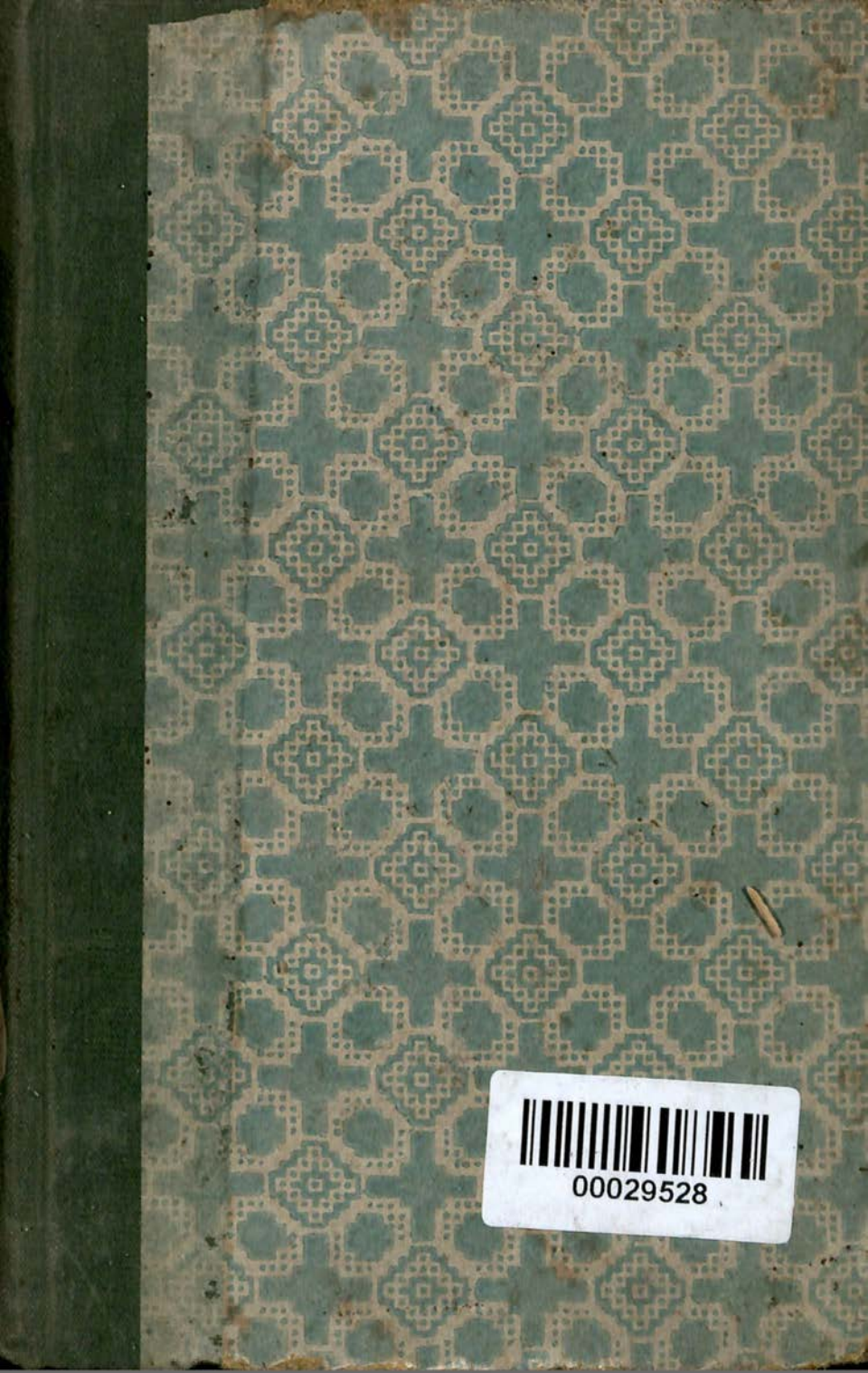
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TO

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HISTORY

OF

THE ROMAN STATE,

FROM 1815 TO 1850.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH TO THE TERMINATION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

ACTS AND WORDS OF GENERAL OUDINOT AT CIVITA VECCHIA.—CONFERENCES WITH THE DEPUTIES OF THE ROMAN ASSEMBLY.—COLONEL LE BLANC AT ROME.—HIS DECLARATIONS.—RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE ASSEMBLY.—TEXT OF A NEW PROCLAMATION BY GENERAL OUDINOT.—CAPTAIN FABAR.—DECLARATIONS MADE BY HIM.—INDECISION OF THE TWO TRIUMVIRS.—DEBATE IN THE ASSEMBLY.—NEW RESOLUTION.—REVIEW OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.—PREPARATIONS FOR RESISTANCE.—ARRANGEMENTS.—PROCLAMATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF BARRICADES.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLERGY AND REPUBLICANS IN PARIS.—ADVICE AND HOPES OF M. FORBIN JANSON.—TEXT OF A LETTER OF M. DROUIN DE L'HUYS.—ADVICE OF M. D'HARCOURT AND M. RAYNEVAL.—MARCH OF THE FRENCH ARMY.—TEXT OF A PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY GENERAL OUDINOT TO THE SOLDIERS.—THE ROMAN FORCES.—BATTLE OF THE 30TH APRIL.

AFTER the French had gained possession of Cività Vecchia under pretence of entertaining the most liberal designs, they kept the minds of the inhabitants in suspense, by alternate marks of enmity and kindness, gentle words and harsh deeds. They proclaimed liberty;

the magistrates of the Roman Republic retained their offices, the soldiers and the National Guard remained in arms, but General Oudinot showed his real power by detaining in the harbour a Lombard legion of 600 men, commanded by Luciano Manara, which, after the reverses of the Piedmontese army, had sailed in two Sardinian ships for the Roman coast. When Manara complained of this detention, and desired to be set at liberty with his men, the general sharply answered: "You are Lombards, what right have you to meddle with the affairs of Rome?" Then Manara, replying to foreign insolence with Italian scorn, exclaimed: "And you, general, do you come from Paris, from Lyons, or Bordeaux?" The President Manucci, also, who, after he had been accused in Parliament, on account of the descent of the French, had regained his character, and had been maintained in office by the minister Montecchi, appealed to General Oudinot in vain. The general was at first so enraged that he took his office from him, then apologised and reinstated him. On the other hand, Rusconi and Pescantini, the deputies from the Assembly, were received by him with kind and liberal words. He said that France did not intend any offence; that she had only made an armed descent to secure Rome from the Austro-Neapolitan invasion, and that they ought to trust in him and in his nation. To this the deputies answered, that the manner in which the enterprise had been undertaken did not seem to savour much of friendship, but rather tended to excite suspicions of an intention to restore the dominion of the clergy. The general took

offence at the supposition, and emphatically denied it; he assured them that nothing was further from his wishes, nothing more contrary to the intentions of the French Government; that the Roman people might settle their own affairs as they liked, and in any manner which they deemed best; France would not interfere by word or deed; he would assure them of that, on his honour. Let them, then, return to Rome, quiet the troubled minds of the citizens, and incline them to receive his soldiers courteously as their friends. The next morning he repeated the same words, adding others more liberal still; nor was he wanting in any of the polite attentions due to the deputies, and at their and Montecchi's request, he permitted Manara to conduct his legion to Porto d'Anzio, on condition that he should remain neutral until the 4th of May; and lastly, he intimated that he would send Captain Fabar to Rome, to give assurance, as he said, of his liberal intentions.

But he had already sent thither Colonel Le Blanc, who had gone to the Triumvirs, accompanied by M. Forbin Janson, and had intimated to them that the Catholic nations, being unable to remain idle spectators of the exile of the Pope, were resolved to reinstate him in his chair and throne. Whereupon Mazzini went to the Assembly, and having recalled to mind the acts which had preceded and followed the occupation of Cività Vecchia, gave an account, on the faith of a letter from Rusconi, of the first interview which the deputies had had with General Oudinot, and compared what had passed on that occasion with the words of

Colonel Le Blanc, which had betrayed the real object of the enterprise. The Assembly then decided that it should be put to the vote, whether Rome should freely open her gates to the French, or resist every attempt to violate the independence and the rights of the people. Ten deputies having made the motion, after a short tumult and brief delay, the Assembly resolved itself into a Secret Committee, in which the following resolution was passed, that "the Assembly, after the communication received from the Triumvirate, charges it with the safety of the Republic, and commands it to oppose force to force." When this was made public, the popular cry was, "To arms!" national indignation, hatred of the clergy, Roman pride, and Mazzinian temerity boiled over.

At this juncture, Rusconi and Pescantini arrived in Rome, and Captain Fabar brought with him a fresh proclamation from General Oudinot, under date of the 26th of April, couched in the following terms:—

"Inhabitants of the Roman States! a French corps d'armée has disembarked upon your territory; it is not its intention to exercise an oppressive influence, or to impose upon you a government adverse to your wishes. On the contrary, it comes to preserve you from the heaviest calamities.

"Political events in Europe have rendered inevitable the appearance of a foreign standard in the capital of the Christian world. The French Republic, by bringing its banner hither before any other, offers a splendid testimony of sympathy towards the Roman people. Receive us, then, as brethren; we will show ourselves worthy of the title; we will respect your persons and your property; we will pay all our expenses in cash; we will make arrangements with the existing authorities, so that our temporary occupation may not be a burden upon you; we

will guard the military honour of your soldiers—they shall be associated everywhere with ours, to assure the continuance of order and liberty. Romans! you may confide in my devoted affection. If you will listen to my voice, if you will have confidence in my words, I will devote myself entirely to the welfare of your beautiful country."

In the name of General Oudinot, Duke de Reggio, Captain Fabar announced to the Triumvirs the imminent invasion of the Austrians and Neapolitans. Rome, he said, without a French garrison, would fall helplessly into their power; they ought, therefore, gladly to receive them as the guardians of imperilled liberty, and not the precursors of a hateful restoration; they ought to devise some means of satisfying the Catholic nations, by making suitable provisions for guaranteeing the independence of the spiritual authority of the Pope; they should lay the foundations of the new Government by not violating the basis of social intercourse, or temporising with events. If they received the French cordially, they would not be disappointed or cheated out of those future benefits which they had promised themselves; but if, on the other hand, they should not meet the friendly advances of France, they would rush upon sure and speedy ruin, so great would be the number and strength of their opponents. At the same time, Colonel Le Blanc declared that he had spoken, on the preceding day, of the restoration of the Papal throne as a mere matter of conjecture, and not on the authority of the General, or from any knowledge that he had of the intentions of the French Government. On learning this, Armellini and Saffi were doubtful whether, before rushing into an unequal

struggle, it would not be wise to come to some accommodation with the French, as Pescantini had advised in a speech which he had not been able to deliver in Parliament, and had published in the Government gazette. But Mazzini, whether from his obstinate determination to maintain a contrary opinion, or from his greater penetration, put no trust in the proclamations of the French, and left his colleagues to explain to the Assembly the real state of the case. It was Saffi, accordingly, who spoke: he gave an account of the negotiations with General Oudinot at Cività Vecchia; of the speeches made by Captain Fabar, his envoy, and those of Colonel Le Blanc. He acknowledged the danger of an Austro-Neapolitan invasion, and stated that the French, in asking to be admitted into Rome, would promise not to oppose the people in their wishes to establish a liberal form of government. But the exclamations of the deputies, and of the public in the galleries, interrupted Saffi more than once; the narrative which Rusconi read of his conversation with General Oudinot was no better received; neither did Armellini produce any effect by his lengthy speech. Cernuschi, Sterbini, and Lizabe were of opinion that the Assembly should not enter into these intricate details — that Rome should be closed against the French—and the determination be taken to oppose force to force; and thus in the midst of tumultuous applause, another vote was passed in conformity with the resolution of the preceding day.

Then followed proclamations, warlike preparations, and many and varied provisions thought necessary,

either to inflame the minds of the public, to procure money, to give a prestige of strength, or to keep up the courage of the people. The Triumvirs announced to the citizens the resolution of the Assembly, auguring victory; to the National Guard they commended the care of public order and the honour of Rome; and, inasmuch as a rumour was prevalent that they were not all of them inspired with a very martial spirit, not all devoted to the Republic, it was arranged that the deputies should review them in the *Piazza a Santi Apostoli.* A great concourse of the curious and of the people assembled on this spot, when Galletti pronounced a panegyric on the civic force, which he concluded by saying, that it was their office not merely to secure public order, but to fight in the defence of liberty. Then Sterbini exclaimed: "National Guards! will you permit a few thousand foreigners, who would invade our territory, to come and dictate laws in this city? Will you allow that?" And a chorus of voices shouted out, "No!" Sterbini continued: "We will maintain our liberties, and the institutions which we have formed with the consent of all the people; we will maintain them at the cost of our blood. Will you have it so?" And the chorus shouted, "Ay, ay!" The spectacle had thus been presented, the end was answered; it was meant it should be said, that the National Guard and the people were resolved to fight to the last, and it was said; who believed it I cannot say; but I do not think Sterbini did.

The new Municipal magistrates who had been elected by the people, with Sterbini, in virtue of his office, as

Senator, at their head, also addressed the Romans in terms suited to inspire the belief that the most complete harmony prevailed, and to encourage them in maintaining a bold resistance. In the mean time the work went bravely on; parapets and ramparts were raised, and loopholes made in the walls; in every *rione** of the city, a deputy of the Assembly and a captain of the people were appointed to take command of the multitude, and summon them to arms when the bells of the Capitol and Monte Citorio should sound the alarm; a committee of barricades, consisting of the three deputies, Cernuschi, Caldesi, and Cattabene, were charged to take care that the ground within the city should be disputed inch by inch; the orators of the Assembly were directed to place pulpits in the squares, and by their harangues to animate the people to the combat; shops, houses, and palaces were to be kept constantly open for the use of the combatants. Demands were made for horses and arms. The Covered Way leading from the Vatican to the Castle of Sant' Angelo was destroyed; the pay of the soldiers was raised, and pensions secured to the families of those who should lose their lives in defence of Rome. Padre Gavazzi invited priests and monks to aid the combatants with their spiritual services; some ladies, with the Princess Belgioioso at their head, went about preparing succour for the wounded; nuns were requested by Saffi to make ready linen bandages, and to pray to the God of armies. The government of the police was committed to the Minister of War, and he consigned the charge

* Districts into which Rome is divided.—Tr.

to Captain Galvagni, who prohibited both inhabitants and strangers from passing out or in at the gates of the city, without his express permission. An attempt was also made at this time to forbid a rise of prices, and the buying up of provisions, and new paper money of small amount was issued. Desperate expedients these, but the only ones which the Genius of revolutions has the skill to devise, to supply the want of credit, and combat that mistrust which is fatal.

The Triumvirs made other arrangements, not so much with the hope of speedily replenishing the treasury, as with the certainty of gratifying the insurrectionists, and flattering the tastes of the people. Ecclesiastical property, which had already been confiscated by the decree of the Assembly, was still administered by the clergy and the religious Congregations. It was impossible at such a time to estimate its value, to determine the revenues, or draw upon them in aid of the exchequer, and this was well known to the Government itself; but wishing to make a show of promptitude, it had given out that the ministers of religion "should receive their salaries monthly, and in advance, from the very day in which the public lands should begin to pay into the treasury, all the revenues of the ecclesiastical body." Now this was nothing but a triumph for friends and an insult to enemies, without any present advantage; and inasmuch as an insult offered to the clergy is one of those which need not fear revenge, the measure was ill-advised as well as useless. The salaries were fixed with a sparing hand; 1000 scudi* to

* About £210.—TR.

bishops, 180 scudi to parish priests, 144 scudi to the titulars of collegiate churches and cathedrals, 100 scudi to simple priests, and 72 scudi to regulars who should remain in societies. All the church fees of the *white* and the *black Stole*,* as they are called, were abolished, under pain of the forfeiture of stipend for the time. The ecclesiastical estates were to be divided amongst the poor, in lots such as a pair of oxen could till, or 20,000 square metres each; the tenure being a free lease in perpetuity, subject only to a chief rent to the State, which the lessee might at any time redeem.

These decrees were followed up by a law, which enacted that the certificates of consolidated stock allotted to the religious corporations should be cancelled, and that a charge should be created upon the public revenue to the amount of 627,950 scudi, by new ones running from the 1st of January; namely, 328,185 scudi, payable, according to the usual form, to bearer, and the remaining 299,765 to belong to the Treasury. The obligations in respect of the old certificates allotted to the religious corporations, were to be charged upon the latter; with the collateral security of a general mortgage on the secularised ecclesiastical estates. The stock represented by all the new certificates was to be sold by auction, and payment made four-fifths in treasury or bank bonds, the other fifth in coin. The price of salt was also lowered to a half-penny per pound, and it was arranged that the people

* *i. e.* for Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials.—Tr.

should be sheltered in the spacious convents from annoyance and danger.

In the revolutionised city, clubs, tribunes, and soldiers of fortune had the upper hand. There was a hurrying to and fro, and a continual bustle everywhere. The republicans of Italy had taken heart when France improvised a republic, and by degrees had been inspired with courage to make experiments, relying on the example set them by their brethren of France. So that when the French came to attack and not to aid Rome, those who found themselves deceived in their cherished hopes, were not deterred, by the blame they threw on the French Government, from inventing a new species of delusion, giving out that such treachery would not be pardoned by the French people. Thus, the deception was continued under which Italy has groaned for so long a time, and which has led it to place its trust, now in the French Government, now in the people, and now in the army, whilst all the while it is trampled on and abused by all. But the populace of Rome, who are not particularly fond of any foreigners whatever, could not enter into such subtle distinctions, and with a more sagacious instinct, they cursed both the Government and the nation, and formed plans of savage vengeance. Yet being as docile as they are proud, when confidence is placed in them, and their clemency and honour are invoked, they abstained from any violence against the French, as soon as it was represented to them how unworthy it would be of the Roman people to trample on the rights of nations, and to abuse the duties of hospitality;

and how noble and dignified it would be to constitute themselves protectors of all their foreign guests, and especially of the French, as the Triumvirs had advised.

As soon as the Governors of Rome had decided not to come to terms with General Oudinot, and to listen to no other schemes by which the State might be preserved, their only aim was, how best to kindle the enthusiasm of the people, and to inspire them with hopes of a sure and easy victory. The committee of barricades exerted themselves to good purpose, and Enrico Cernuschi, of Milan, who had signalised himself in the insurrection of his native city, and in the republican tumults both there and in other parts of Italy, and who had gained an empire over the minds of the Roman people by his daring, issued proclamations, which are a curiosity in their way.

"People! all goes well," he said on the 29th of April, "we are working everywhere with the same assiduity, with the same alacrity. We have diligently inspected the whole circuit of our city. The gates are all made sure. The enemy cannot enter anywhere. Having seen to the fortification of the walls, we now proceed to that of the streets. Let the people go on as they have begun. The science of barricades is like that of Liberty. Every one is master of it. Defence is not difficult; offence, if the enemy dare to penetrate within our walls, more easy still. Tiles, stones, windows, chairs, are projectiles feared by every invader.

"In short, it is settled. Away with priestly government! The French would attempt to force it on us, let them keep it for themselves. Maintain that order which they call anarchy, and the Republic has conquered."

Whilst these preparations were taking place in Rome, General Oudinot was desirous to make an immediate

attempt upon the city, though the Commissioners of the French Assembly had expressed the desire that the army should not move from Cività Vecchia upon Rome, except to preserve it from foreign invasion or the fury of illiberal factions; it was to advance, as Barrot had said, not as a conqueror, but as an invited arbitrator. But if the Assembly, the prime minister and his colleagues, had intended to give this colour to the expedition, M. Falloux, who represented in the Cabinet the party which styles itself Catholic, and M. Montalembert, powerful in the Assembly by his genius and eloquence, and supported out of doors by a large body of the clergy, had in view a speedy and complete restoration of the Papal power, and were anxious that the French army should reap the principal merit and honour of the enterprise. Thus, perhaps, the Catholic party in France thought to make the nephew of Napoleon expiate, to the spiritual profit of France, and the temporal profit of the clergy, the robbery of Miollis, and the captivity of Fontainebleau. Emissaries of every kind had flocked to Paris to stimulate catholic zeal, to demand alms for St. Peter, to narrate miracles, to whisper prophecies, and to assert that the Romans were awaiting the French with open arms as paladins of the faith, and the avant guard of the Pope. One of these busybodies, a monk, Vaures by name, went about with a wonderful tale; how Gregory XVI. had pardoned the youthful errors of Louis Napoleon, had blessed him, and exclaimed, "My benediction shall descend on the youthful Prince, and shall enable him to render an immense service to the church," with other such like stories.

The republicans, too, sent emissaries to Paris to stir up the secret societies, but they threw out their baits publicly, and caught nothing but smoke, whereas the monks went about quietly, and managed so as to obtain both arms and money. The Commissioners, whom the French Government had sent into Italy, generally applied for information to the clergy. Even those who asked advice from the friends of free institutions were but little the wiser, though they flattered themselves they had acquired in a few days perfect knowledge of both men and measures, and were led to place implicit confidence in the exaggerated statements of the retrograde party. It was on this party that M. Forbin Janson placed such reliance, that he endeavoured to throw discredit on every one who ventured to doubt its power or principles, or believed that it could be hateful to the people, and unworthy of France, to restore the evil rule of the clergy. All were caressed and believed who suggested means for drawing away the Roman troops from their allegiance to the Republic, who exaggerated the number of deserters, who promised submission, and were generously inclined to promise anything. The same favour was shown to those who wrote that General Oudinot would be received as a liberator—"let him only make an armed demonstration, and leave the devout to do the rest."

But the court of Gaeta was not over well pleased at the zeal of the French, because it was expecting more certain friends, and because the Government of France had exhorted it to make free institutions the basis of the throne. On the 17th of April, the Minister for

Foreign Affairs had written to Messrs. d'Harcourt and de Rayneval in the following terms:—

"You will have the goodness, when you announce to Cardinal Antonelli the departure of the division commanded by General Oudinot, to explain to him clearly the object and extent of the resolution we have taken. The Cardinal will understand that, to be in a condition to benefit by it, the Pope ought promptly to publish a manifesto, which, by guaranteeing to the people such liberal institutions as are conformable to their wishes, as well as to the requirements of the times, may render all resistance impossible. This manifesto, published simultaneously with our appearance on the coasts of the Papal State, would be the signal for a reconciliation from which only a few malcontents would be excluded. You will earnestly insist on the utility and the necessity, moreover, of such a document. It will be easy for you to explain to the members of the Conference at Gaeta, that if we have not deemed it expedient to wait their deliberations, it is because the rapid course of events did not permit us to do so. What we desire is, that the Pope, in returning to Rome, should be in a position satisfactory to himself and to his people; one which should secure Italy and Europe from fresh commotions, and which should not compromise either the equilibrium or the independence of the Italian States. The measures to which we have had recourse are those best fitted, if I do not mistake, to attain this object. They will, therefore, secure the approbation of all the friends of order and of peace."

The Court scouted his ad vice, and M. d'Harcourt was greatly annoyed in consequence; but believing that the occupation of Rome would give it weight and authority, he wrote to General Oudinot on the 26th that "it was desired at Gaeta that the French should abstain from active operations, and be content with the office of mediators, and that such an humiliating and wretched condition could only be avoided by proceeding without delay to Rome."

Captain Fabar, although he had seen with his own eyes the state in which the city was, said, on his return to the camp: "General, I have seen the leaders of the people, and notwithstanding their assertions, I am convinced that the French army would be received with gratitude in the Roman States, provided that it immediately makes a vigorous demonstration against that nest of Italian mob rule." And the French ambassador wrote again from Gaeta:—

"Forward! forward! it is of the greatest importance that you should hasten towards Rome. Your sudden and unexpected arrival at Cività Vecchia, General, has excited both wonder and fear; you must take advantage of the opportunity. If you allow the insurgents time to regain their courage, they will prepare means of resistance, and will make us shed blood against our wishes."

And Messrs. d'Harcourt and de Rayneval wrote:—

"Forward, General! you will not find, whatever people may say, any decided resistance at Rome; the majority of the citizens will come and meet you as soon as you show yourself."

So the general decided upon advancing. On the 28th of April, he declared Cività Vecchia to be in a state of siege, closed the clubs, dismissed the National Guard, put his own soldiers into the Arsenal and the Fort, disbanded the volunteers, disarmed the battalions of bersaglieri commanded by Mellara, prohibited the Municipal magistrates to hold sittings without his order, and without the presence of his military delegates, and addressed his soldiers in the following words:—

"Soldiers! you are aware of the events which have conducted you into the Roman States. Hardly was he raised to

the Pontifical Throne, ere the generous Pius IX. acquired the affections of his people by instituting liberal reforms. But a factious party, which has brought misfortune upon all Italy, armed itself at Rome under pretence of Liberty. The Sovereign Pontiff was obliged to retire into exile, on account of a rebellion, inaugurated by the unpunished and vaunted assassination of his Prime Minister.

"Under these auspices, and without the concurrence of the majority of the electors, the Republic of Rome was founded; a Republic which has not been recognised by a single European Government. Yet I addressed myself, as soon as I arrived, to men of all parties, hoping to unite them under a common submission to the national will. The phantasm of a Government which has its seat at Rome, replies to my conciliatory words with reiterated bravadoes. Soldiers! let us accept the challenge; let us hasten to Rome. We shall not meet as enemies either the citizens or the soldiers of Rome. Both consider us liberators. We have to fight with the proscribed of all nations, who oppress this country, after having ruined the cause of liberty in their own. Under the French banner, on the contrary, liberal institutions will have all the development compatible with the interests and the usages of the Roman nation."

The President was arrested, because, as was his duty, he had given an account of these proceedings to the Government, and made them matter of complaint. The ministers Rusconi and Pescantini, who had set out again from Rome to acquaint the General with the firm determination which had been taken to resist him, and to endeavour to stop him on the way, were unable to gain access to him, and received no answer to a letter which they wrote to him. On the 27th he sent an advanced guard to Palo; on the 28th, having left a garrison in Cività Vecchia, he marched his army, consisting of about 6000 men, two batteries of Artillery,

two companies of Engineers, and a few horse; and on the 29th he took up his quarters at Castel di Guido. To those who assured him that he would meet with certain resistance at Rome, he only replied, "Italians don't fight."

At the end of April there were in Rome from 9000 to 10,000 soldiers, half regular troops, half volunteers, all Italians excepting 1000 belonging to the Roman States. There were two Divisions, one of them commanded by Garibaldi, the other by Bartolucci; the Brigades were under the orders of Colonels Masi, Savini, and Bartolomeo Galletti, who was afterwards made general; the Artillery were few in number, but well officered by Stuart, Calandrelli, and Lopez; the Cavalry amounted to about 500. On the evening of the 29th these troops were drawn up in order of battle, awaiting the French. Garibaldi was posted outside the walls, with about 3000 men, of different legions, between the Porta Portese and the Porta San Pancrazio; Masi defended the walls from the Porta Cavalleggeri to the Porta Angelica, with 1700 Light Infantry, and two battalions of the National Guard; 500 Dragoons were posted in the *Piazza Navona*, under the command of Colonel Savini; Colonel Galletti took his stand on the *Piazza della Chiesa Nuova*, with 2000 Regulars, 800 of the Roman Legion, and the few guns which were not posted on the walls: Giuseppe Galletti, General of the Carabineers, and President of the Assembly, held 200 of his soldiers ready to hasten wherever they might be wanted. The fifth article of the Constitution of the French Republic had been printed in immense letters,

and, as if it were the shield of the Roman Republic, was posted up and thrown upon the ground along the road where the soldiers of the Duke de Reggio would have to fight.

The French army had moved from Castel di Guido at five o'clock in the morning, and having left all its baggage at Maglianella, by eleven o'clock, was close to Rome, at the point where the road from Cività Vecchia branches into two; one leading on the right hand to the Porta San Pancrazio, the other on the left, to the Porta Cavalleggeri. Here it divided into two columns, and advanced along both roads. At eleven the bells of the Capitol and of Monte Citorio gave the signal of battle to the Romans, and the artillery thundered forth. It is said, so strong was the persuasion entertained by the French, that they would be received joyfully into Rome, that when they heard the first report, an officer, who affirmed that he was acquainted with the customs of the city, said that it was the usual signal of mid-day. The combat on both sides had already commenced, and the French were expecting every moment that their friends within would open the gates to them, when Captain Fabar, who, having been in Rome, said he was certain of the effort which would be made at the Porta Angelica, and that he was well acquainted with the locality, entreated the General to make a vigorous demonstration on that side, and offered to lead the soldiers thither himself by a short cut, not exposed, so he said, to the Roman artillery. The whole attack was, in fact, so grossly mismanaged, that some talked of entering by the Porta

Pertusa, which has long been built up. General le Vaillant followed the footsteps of Captain Fabar through paths so well defended, that the Captain himself was soon killed with many of his soldiers; whilst the General was forced to abandon his guns, and take shelter as well as he could in some adjacent houses, and behind a neighbouring bank.

Whilst on this side the French were fighting with such ill success, Garibaldi on the right, with 1200 men, assaulted those who were advancing on the Porta San Pancrazio at the distance of about a mile from the city. He charged them suddenly, but they kept their ground notwithstanding, and, having recovered themselves, forced him to retire to the Villa Panfili, whence he sent for succour. Colonel Galletti brought it immediately, and attacked the French near the arches of the aqueduct. Finding themselves between two fires, they were compelled to fall back in very bad order on the road to Cività Vecchia; some of them took refuge in the Villa Giraud and the neighbouring houses. Here Major Picard, after he had fought for some time against the Romans, who pressed him on all sides, asked for a parley, in order to have time, he said, to receive orders from his General, but his opponents fell upon him, and having made him prisoner, with 300 of his soldiers, conducted them to Rome with others who had fallen into the hands of Garibaldi, amidst the acclamations of the people at their victory. The troops commanded by Masi, the National Guards, the Carabineers, and the Artillery, repulsed the attacks from the gardens of the Vatican, and from the walls, from

the Porta Cavalleggeri to Santa Marta, so that General Oudinot, having entirely failed in his attack, ordered a retreat, leaving a rearguard under command of General Le Vaillant, to keep the Romans in check, and to find some means for carrying off, under cover of the darkness, the guns which he had been forced to abandon. The combat lasted about six hours. The Romans had 150 killed or wounded; the French perhaps above 300, and more than that number taken prisoners; and they retired upon Castel di Guido in such disorder that it was thought if the Romans had pursued them vigorously they would doubtless have gained a complete victory. At two o'clock the following morning General Oudinot wrote an account of the disaster to the French Government, and demanded speedy and efficient reinforcements.

Italians *did* fight.

CHAPTER II.

TEXT OF THE ALLOCUTION PRONOUNCED BY THE HOLY FATHER IN THE CONSISTORY, HELD AT GAETA, ON THE 20TH OF APRIL.—COMMENTS.

About this time was published the following allocution, pronounced by his Holiness in the Secret Consistory, held at Gaeta, on the 20th of April:—

"Venerable Brethren, by what, and how many calamitous tempests, the State of our Pontificate, and indeed all Italy, have been agitated and overthrown, to the great grief of Our soul, no one can certainly be ignorant. May God, in his mercy, grant that men, taught by these deplorable vicissitudes, may learn that there is nothing more hurtful to them, than to deviate from the path of truth, of justice, of honesty, and of religion; to delight themselves in the evil counsels of the wicked, and to be deceived and ensnared by their treachery, fraud, and error! Of a truth, the world well knows and can attest what, and how great, has been the care and solicitude of Our fatherly and most affectionate heart, to assure the true and solid benefit, tranquillity, and prosperity, of the people of Our Pontifical State, and what has been the fruit of Our so great indulgence and love. By which words, indeed, We only mean to condemn the very crafty promoters of so great evils, without wishing to impute any blame to the majority of the people. But yet We are constrained to deplore that many among the people should have been so miserably deceived, and that, closing their ears to Our voice and Our counsels, they should have opened them afterwards to the fallacious doctrines of teachers, who, leaving the straight path, and treading aside into dark ways, think of nothing else but how to persuade, and to lead into fraud and

error, by means of magnificent and lying promises, the minds and feelings of the inexperienced. Every one well knows with what commendation that memorable and most ample pardon, conceded by Us for the peace, the tranquillity, and the happiness of Our flock, was everywhere received. And no one is ignorant that many amongst those to whom that pardon was granted not only showed no signs of penitence, as We had hoped, but, on the contrary, persisting only the more determinately in their designs and machinations, there was nothing that they would not dare, nothing that they would not attempt, to shake and overthrow the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff and his Government, as, for a long time, they had been plotting to do; and at the same time they waged most bitter war against our most holy religion. To attain the more easily this their object, they sought first of all to gather together the masses of the people, to inflame them and to keep them continually in commotion, which they endeavoured by every means in their power daily to foment and increase, under pretext of the very concessions We had made. Hence the favours spontaneously and voluntarily conceded by Us, in the beginning of Our Pontificate, not only failed to produce the desired fruit, but did not even strike root, while the expert fabricators of fraud took advantage of these very concessions, in order to raise fresh troubles. And in this your assembly, O Venerable Brethren, We have deemed it right to touch, though but lightly, upon these things, and to mention cursorily the facts themselves, precisely for this purpose, that all the well-inclined may see clearly and fully, what things the enemies of God and of the human race have in view, what they desire, and what has ever been the fixed aim and determination of their minds.

"On account of Our singular affection towards Our subjects, We were exceedingly grieved and distressed, O Venerable Brethren, to see these continual popular commotions, adverse as they are to public quiet and order, and to private tranquillity and family concord; nor could We tolerate those frequent pecuniary contributions which, under various pretexts, were

constantly collected, to the no small annoyance and expense of the citizens. Wherefore, in the month of April, in the year 1847, We did not omit to make known to all, by a public edict of Our Cardinal Secretary of State, that they must abstain from similar popular assemblies and collections and attend to their own affairs; putting their trust in Us, and resting assured that Our paternal cares and thoughts were exclusively engaged how best to procure the public good, as we had already testified by many and most evident proofs. But this Our salutary counsel, by which We endeavoured to curb these great popular commotions, and to recall Our subjects to the love of order and tranquillity, were much opposed to the evil desires and machinations of some amongst them. For the indefatigable abettors of turbulence (who had already opposed a previous ordinance, which had emanated, by Our command, from the same Cardinal Secretary of State, and which was intended to promote a proper and useful system of education for the people) had hardly made themselves acquainted with Our intentions, before they began to cry out against them, and to excite more and more the thoughtless masses of the people, by insinuating themselves amongst them with much cunning, and persuading them not to return to that repose We so earnestly desired. For they spread it abroad that such repose was insidiously intended to lull the people as it were to sleep, that so they might the more easily be brought under the hard yoke of slavery. From that time many letters, some of which were printed, and filled with bitterest insults, and all kinds of abuse and menaces, were sent to Us, which letters we consigned to eternal oblivion, and committed to the flames. Then those perturbers of the public peace, to verify in some degree the false perils which they asserted were impending over the people, did not scruple to spread abroad rumours and fears of a supposed conspiracy, designedly invented by themselves; and to trumpet forth with the most impious falsehood, that there had been a certain plot contrived, which was to desolate the City of Rome with civil war, with massacres and assassinations, in order that the new institutions being completely removed and annulled, the ancient

form of government might be restored. Under cover of this most false conspiracy, Our enemies entertained the wicked design of stirring up the people to contempt, hatred, and fury against, certain most distinguished personages who were especially remarkable for virtue and piety, and were moreover invested with ecclesiastical dignity. You well know that amidst this ferment, the Civic Guard was proposed and raised with so much celerity that it was not possible to provide for its proper management and discipline.

"As soon as We judged it opportune (in order still more to secure the prosperity of the public administration) to establish the *Consulta* of State, Our enemies took immediate occasion thence, to strike fresh blows at the Government, and to act in such a manner that an institution which might have been productive of great advantage to the public interests of the nation should only redound to their hurt and ruin. And inasmuch as they had been allowed with impunity, to disseminate the opinion that by such an institution the whole character and genius of the Pontifical Government had been changed, and that Our authority was subject to the decisions of the *Consulta*, We took occasion, on the very day of the inauguration of the institution, seriously to admonish, in severe and solemn words, certain turbulent citizens who had accompanied the members of the *Consulta*, and to make known to them clearly and fully the real object of this institution. But, notwithstanding, the disturbers of the public peace did not cease to excite and stir up the deluded portion of the people with untiring energy; and, in order more easily to gain a greater number of proselytes, they went about with classic impudence and audacity, not only in Our State, but in foreign countries, giving out that We entirely agreed in their opinions and projects.

"You will recall to mind, O Venerable Brethren, how, and with what words in Our allocution, pronounced in the Consistory of the 4th October, 1847, We did not omit seriously to admonish and exhort all people most carefully to guard themselves from the artifices of such like deceivers. Never-

theless, the persevering authors of frauds and agitations, in order constantly to keep alive turbulence and alarm, terrified the minds of the unthinking, in the January of the past year, with false alarms of foreign war, and spread it abroad amongst the people how, by internal conspiracies and the malicious indolence of the Government, the war had been fomented and would be sustained. In order to tranquillise the minds of the people, and overthrow the arts of their deceivers, We declared, without delay, on the 10th of February, in the same year, in words which are well known to you all, that these reports were utterly false and absurd. And on that occasion, We announced to our most beloved subjects, what now, by the help of God, will be verified, namely, that innumerable sons would hasten to defend the House of the common Father of the Faithful, that is, the State of the Church, whenever those stringent bonds of gratitude which ought to bind closely together the princes and the people of Italy should be loosened, and the people themselves should cease to respect the wisdom of their princes, and the sanctity of their rights, and with all their strength to preserve and defend them.

"Although the words just alluded to by Us restored calm for a short time to all whose desires were opposed to these continual agitations, they availed nothing against the ferocious enemies of the Church and of civil society, who were already plotting new disturbances and fresh tumults; for, following up the calumnies which they and their fellows had already hurled against a religious society, consecrated to the Divine ministry, and which has deserved well of the Church, they violently excited and inflamed the popular anger against them. Nor are you ignorant, Venerable Brethren, how vain were the words We addressed to the people on the 10th of March in last year, and by which We earnestly endeavoured to preserve that religious family from exile and dispersion.

"In the midst of these events, which were succeeded by the memorable revolutions that took place in Italy and in Europe, We, again raising Our apostolic voice, on the 30th of March in the same year, did not neglect repeatedly to warn and exhort

all nations to respect the liberty of the Catholic Church, to maintain the order of civil society, to defend the rights of all, to follow the precepts of our most holy religion, and especially to endeavour to practise Christian charity towards all, warning them that if they should neglect thus to act, they might be certain God would make them know that He is Ruler over the nations.

"Now every one of you well knows how it came to pass, that the form of a Constitutional Government was introduced into Italy, and how the Statute conceded by Us to the people was first promulgated on the 14th of March in the past year. But, as the implacable enemies of order and public tranquillity were, beyond everything, desirous to exert every effort against the Pontifical Government, and to agitate the people unceasingly with continual commotions and suspicions, by means of prints, of clubs, of committees, and other artifices of every kind, so they were never tired of casting atrocious calumnies upon the Government; of accusing it of indolence, of deceit, and of fraud, although the Government itself was working with the greatest diligence and zeal, in order that the Statute, so much desired, might appear with the greatest possible celerity. And here We would make manifest to the whole world, that at this very time, these men, firm in their design to revolutionise the Pontifical State and the whole of Italy, insisted We should proclaim, not a Constitution, but a Republic, as the only resource, the only chance of safety, both for Ourself and the State of the Church. The memory of that night is still present with Us, and We have still before Our eyes some of those individuals, who, miserably deluded and bewitched by these inventors of frauds, did not hesitate on that occasion to patronise their cause, and to propose to Us the proclamation of that same Republic. This simple fact, to say nothing of innumerable other and most weighty arguments, proves more and more clearly that the demand for new institutions, and the progress so much lauded by these innovators, only tend to keep up a constant state of agitation; to destroy entirely every principle of justice, virtue, honesty, and religion; and to introduce, pro-

pagate, and cause largely to prevail in all directions, to the great damage and ruin of civilised society, that horrible and most fatal system of Socialism or Communism, which is entirely contrary to justice, and even to the first principles of natural reason.

"But although this most black conspiracy, or rather this long series of conspiracies, appeared clear and manifest, yet still it remained unknown to many of those who for innumerable reasons ought to have the common tranquillity at heart. And although the indefatigable leaders of the masses laid themselves open to most grave suspicion, still there were not wanting men of good intentions who lent them a friendly hand, perhaps in the hope of being able in this way to bring them back into the paths of moderation and justice.

"In the meantime, a cry of war ran suddenly all over Italy, and a portion of Our subjects being moved and excited by it, flew to arms, and, setting themselves against Our wishes, desired to pass beyond the limits of Our State. You are aware, O Venerable Brethren, how We, fulfilling the offices of Supreme Pontiff and of Sovereign, opposed the unjust wishes of those who desired to drag Us into this war, and who required that We should send to battle, that is, to certain massacre, a body of inexperienced youths, assembled at a moment's notice, never instructed in the art of military discipline, unprovided with able commanders and implements of war. And this was expected from Us, who, however undeservedly, have been raised by the inscrutable decree of Divine Providence to the summit of apostolic dignity, sustaining here on earth the office of Vicar of Jesus Christ, and who have received from God, the Author of peace and charity, the commission to love, with a paternal affection, all people, nations, and tongues without partiality, and to seek, as much as in Us lies, their safety, instead of spurring them on to massacre and death. For if to every prince it be forbidden to undertake a war without just cause, who is there that can be so entirely destitute of judgment and common sense, as not to see clearly that the Catholic world requires, with good reason, from the Roman Pontiff,

much stricter justice and much graver causes, before he prepare to associate himself with any in carrying on a war? Wherefore, in Our Allocution of the 29th of April of the past year, pronounced before you, We declared to the whole world that We would have nothing to do with the war; and at the same time We rejected and refused an offer, most insidiously made to Us, as well by word of mouth as by writing, an offer not only exceedingly injurious to Ourself, but most fatal to Italy, namely, that of presiding over the Government of a certain Italian Republic. And it was, in truth, through an especial exercise of the Divine mercy that we were then enabled to fulfil the serious duty imposed upon Us by God Himself, of speaking, admonishing, exhorting. Therefore, We trust that We cannot be reproached in the words of the prophet Isaiah, 'Woe unto me if I keep silence.' And would to God that Our paternal words, warnings, and exhortations had been heard by all Our sons.

"You will remember, O Venerable Brethren, what uproars and disturbances were excited by men of the turbulent factions, after the Allocution alluded to by Us, and in what manner a civil Ministry, entirely contrary to Our maxims and ideas, and to the rights of the Apostolic See, was imposed upon Us. We predicted, indeed, from that time, the unhappy issue of the Italian war, whilst one of those Ministers did not hesitate to affirm that the war would continue, though it was contrary to Our wish, and undertaken without the Pontifical benediction. Which Minister also, grievously outraging the Apostolic See, was not ashamed to propose that the civil dominion of the Roman Pontificate should be separated entirely from the spiritual power. The same individual, not long after, in speaking of Us, dared to make assertions in public, by which, in a certain way, he banished and separated the Pope himself from the society of men. And the just and merciful God humiliated Us beneath His powerful hand by permitting that, for the space of several months, the truth on one side, and falsehood on the other, should fiercely contend together; to which state of things the formation of another Ministry put

a termination. This Ministry, in its turn, yielded the post to another, which admirably united to great talents a lively zeal for defending public order and maintaining the laws. But the unbridled licence and audacity of depraved passions raising their head ever higher, extended their dominion, and the enemies of God and man, inflamed with a long and fierce thirst of domination, of robbery, and of destruction, panted for nothing more passionately than the overthrow of all laws, human and divine, that they might thus satisfy their evil desires. Then the machinations, prepared for so long time past, manifested themselves openly: the public ways were seen sprinkled with human blood; sacrileges, which can never be enough deplored, were committed; and violence, unheard of before, was perpetrated against us, with indescribable daring, even in our very residence, on the Quirinal. Wherefore, being oppressed with much anguish, and being unable to exercise freely either the office of Sovereign or even that of Pontiff, We were constrained, not without great bitterness of soul, to absent Ourself from Our chair. We will pass over in silence those most lamentable occurrences detailed by Us in public protests, that our common grief may not be embittered by again recounting them. No sooner were the seditious made acquainted with these protests, than, filled with rage, and hurling menaces on all alike, they did not spare any kind of fraud, deceit, or violence, so that they might terrify still more the good, who were already sufficiently dismayed. And after they had introduced that new form of government styled by them the *Guinta* of State, and suppressed entirely the two Councils instituted by Us, they exerted themselves to the utmost to call together a new Assembly, named by them the Roman Constituent Assembly. Of a truth, the mind shrinks and revolts from the remembrance of how great and how many frauds they practised to execute this scheme. Here, however, We cannot dispense with offering a due tribute of praise to the majority of the magistrates of the Pontifical States, who, mindful of their own honour and duty, preferred to resign their offices rather than lend a hand, in any way, to an enter-

prise which was designed to strip their Sovereign and most beloved Father of his legitimate temporal power. That Assembly was at last convened, and a certain Roman advocate in the commencement of his first speech delivered to the members, solemnly declared to all, what he, and all the others his associates, the authors of this horrible movement, thought, wished, and intended. *The law of moral progress*, he said, *is imperious* and *inexorable;* and he added, that he and his friends had, a long time ago, come to the determination to level to its foundations the temporal dominion and government of the Apostolic See, whatever might be the concessions made by Us, in accordance with their wishes. Which declaration We have wished to bring to remembrance, in this your Assembly, that all may know that this evil intention was no baseless suspicion or conjecture attributed by Us to the authors of these disturbances, but that it was made manifest to the whole universe by these very men themselves, who should have been prevented, through very shame, from making such an open declaration. Men of this stamp, then, did not aim at more liberal institutions, or reforms more favourable to the public administration or prudent measures of any kind; all they wanted was, to invade, overthrow, and destroy the temporal dominion of the Apostolic See. And they accomplished this, their project, as far as in them lay, by a decree emanating from their so-called Roman Constituent Assembly, on the 9th of February in the present year, by which decree, declaring the Roman Pontiffs to have forfeited *de facto* and *de jure*, their temporal government, We are at a loss to say whether they did greater injustice to the rights of the Roman Church, and the liberty inherent therein through the exercise of the Apostolic Ministry, or greater injury and damage to all the subjects of the Pontiff.

"Our affliction on learning such deplorable events was, of a truth, very grievous, and that which principally overwhelmed Us with grief, Venerable Brethren, was that the City of Rome, the centre of unity and Catholic Truth, the teacher of virtue and holiness, through the deeds of impious men, who

throng thither daily, should appear in the sight of all nations, tribes, and peoples, to be the author of all these evils. But in the midst of Our tribulation, it is consoling to Us to be able to affirm, that the majority both of the people of Rome and of Our other subjects inhabiting the Pontifical State, constantly devoted to Us, and overflowing with affection towards the Holy See, have been filled with horror by these wicked machinations, though they have been passive spectators of these deplorable events. It gave Us equally great consolation to have the sympathy of the bishops and clergy of Our State, who, in the midst of perils and every sort of hindrance, fulfilled the duties of their ministry, and never ceased from striving, by their voice and their example, to keep their flocks from seditions, and from the pernicious influence of the factious.

"In such a state of conflict, in the midst of so many disasters, We left no means untried to preserve order and public tranquillity; for long before the deplorable events which took place in the month of November, We expressed Our strong desire, that the Swiss regiments in the service of the Holy See, which were quartered in Our provinces, should be recalled to Rome. Our wishes were opposed, and this movement forbidden, by the Ministers who held office during the month of May. Nor was this all: before, as well as afterwards, We exerted ourself to the utmost to procure the assistance of other troops, in order to support the cause of public order, specially in Rome, and to restrain the audacity of the revolutionary party, wherein We were, by Divine permission, disappointed. Finally, after the deplorable events which took place in November, We did not omit to inculcate, in every possible way, upon Our native troops, by Our letters of the 5th of January, that, mindful of their religion and their military honour, they should maintain the fidelity which they had sworn to their own Prince, and should exert themselves zealously to the end that public quiet and the obedience and respect due to the legitimate Government might everywhere be preserved. Besides which, we gave orders that the Swiss regiments should be transferred to Rome, which orders were not obeyed, principally because the General

in command pursued a course in this affair which was neither right nor honourable.

"In the meanwhile the leaders of the factions pushed on their enterprises with ever greater energy and audacity, and never ceased from hurling horrible contumelies and calumnies of every sort against Our person and those who are about Us; they even dared, in the excess of their iniquity, to pervert the very words and phrases of the Gospel, so that, under the guise of lambs, whilst inwardly they are ravening wolves, they might entice the inexperienced multitude to take part in their depraved designs and machinations, and imbue with false doctrines the minds of the unwary. Then those amongst Our subjects who were faithfully attached and devoted to Us, and to the temporal dominion of the Holy See, required, with good reason, that We should liberate them from the many most grievous troubles, perils, calamities, and ruin wherewith they were everywhere oppressed. And since there are some amongst them who consider Us as being the cause, however innocent, of these so great disturbances, We desire they should reflect that We had scarcely ascended the Pontifical throne before We immediately turned Our paternal thoughts and cares, as We have already declared, to ameliorate, to the utmost of Our power, the condition of the people of Our Pontifical State. But, through the interference of hostile and turbulent men, it came to pass that Our designs were rendered futile; and thus it was that, by the permission of God, these same factions were able to succeed in accomplishing the designs which, for a long time previously, they had never ceased from plotting and attempting with every kind of malice; therefore We again repeat, what We have many times declared, that in so terrible and deplorable a tempest, wherein the whole world is most horribly tossed, We ought to recognise the hand of God, and listen to His voice, who by such chastisements is wont to punish the sins and iniquities of men, to the intent that they may return with all haste into the paths of justice. Let those men who have departed from the truth listen to His voice, and, abandoning the road they have chosen, turn towards the Lord; let those

also listen who, in the present most sorrowful state of things, are more earnest in seeking their own private good than the welfare of the Church and the prosperity of the Catholic religion; let them remember that it profits a man nothing to gain the whole world if thereby he lose his own soul; let the pious sons of the Church also give ear to the Lord, waiting with patience for help from God, and, earnestly endeavouring to purify their own consciences from every stain of sin, let them diligently implore the Divine mercy, and seek to find favour more and more in the eyes of God, and to serve Him continually.

"Amidst these Our most ardent desires, We cannot help specially warning and reproving those who applaud a decree, by which the Roman Pontiff is deprived of all the honour and dignity of his civil authority, and who assert that this same decree is peculiarly suited to advance the liberty and happiness of the Church itself. And here, openly and in the sight of all, We attest, that in saying this, We are not actuated by any thirst for dominion, or by any desire for temporal power; on the contrary, Our feelings and temperament are really alien to any such desire. However, Our duty requires, that in defending the civil authority of the Apostolic See, We should defend, to the utmost of Our power, the rights and possessions of the Holy Roman Church, and the liberty of the See itself, which is intimately connected with the liberty and independence of the whole Church. Those, indeed, who, in their praise of the said decree, have dared to assert so many falsehoods and absurdities, are either ignorant, or pretend to be ignorant, that when the Roman Empire was divided into several different Kingdoms and States, it was by a most singular dispensation of Divine Providence, that the Roman Pontiff, to whom the care and government of the whole Church was committed by Christ the Lord, was endowed with a temporal kingdom, to the end that, whilst ruling over the Church itself, and preserving its unity, he should enjoy that full liberty which is necessary for the exercise of the Supreme Apostolic Ministry. For no one is ignorant that the Congre-

gation of the faithful, the peoples, the nations and kingdoms, would never place entire confidence in the Roman Pontiff, or show him complete respect, if they saw him subjected to the dominion of any Prince or Government whatever, and not entirely independent. And indeed, the faithful, the peoples, and the nations, would never cease most urgently to suspect and dread that the Pontiff himself would conform his acts to the will of any Prince or Government in whose State he might be residing; and, under this pretext, they would not scruple often to oppose those acts. And let those very enemies of the civil authority of the Apostolic See, who now rule in Rome, confess with what reverence or respect they would receive the exhortations, the warnings, the directions or decisions of the Sovereign Pontiff, whilst they knew him to be subject to the power of any Prince or Government whatever, especially if between one of these Princes and the Roman State there had been for a long period open war.

"Meantime, every one sees by how many and grievous wounds the immaculate Spouse of Christ has been pierced in the Pontifical State itself; by what fetters, by what most vile slavery, she is ever increasingly oppressed; and by how much anguish the visible Head of the Church has been overwhelmed. Who is there that is ignorant how, at last, even Our communications with Rome, with Our beloved clergy, with the entire Episcopate, and with all the Faithful in the Pontifical States, are impeded; so that We are not allowed to dispatch or to receive Our letters freely, even when they refer to ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs? Who does not know that the city of Rome, the principal seat of the Catholic Church, has become, alas! a den of wild beasts, crammed full of men of all nations, who, being apostates or heretics, or teachers of Communism or Socialism, and animated by the most terrible hatred against Catholic Truth, strive, by their speeches or by their writings, or in other ways, to teach and to disseminate pestiferous errors of every description, and to corrupt the minds and hearts of all, in order that, in Rome itself, if that were possible, they might destroy the sanctity of the Catholic

religion, and the unchangeable rule of faith? Who does not know, who has not heard, that in the Pontifical States, the riches, the revenues, and the property of the Church have been appropriated with rash and sacrilegious audacity? the sacred temples despoiled of their ornaments; religious houses converted to profane uses; holy nuns ill-treated; most noble and honourable Ecclesiastics and Religious cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, slain; venerable and illustrious bishops, ennobled even with the dignity of Cardinal, barbarously torn from their people, and thrust into prison? And these so enormous crimes against the Church and its rights and liberty are committed, not only in the Pontifical State, but also in other places, where these men and their fellows have the rule, at the very time in which they themselves are everywhere proclaiming liberty, and professing their desire to be, that the supreme power of the Pontiff, freed from every obstacle, should be held and exercised in perfect liberty.

"Moreover no one is ignorant to what a sad and deplorable condition Our beloved subjects have been sunk by means of these same men, who commit such outrages against the Church; the public treasury dissipated and exhausted; commerce interrupted and almost annihilated; heavy contributions of money imposed on the nobles and others; the property of private persons taken from them by those who style themselves leaders of the people, and commanders of unbridled troops; the personal liberty of the well-disposed infringed, and their tranquillity placed in peril; life itself exposed to the daggers of cut-throats; and other great and lamentable calamities, by which Our citizens are grievously oppressed and dismayed. These—these are the first fruits of that prosperity which is proclaimed by the enemies of the Supreme Pontiff, and promised to the people of the Pontifical States!

"In the midst, then, of the grievous, incredible anguish, by which Our inmost soul was penetrated for the calamities, both of the Church and of Our subjects, well knowing that the basis on which Our duty rests required that We should do Our utmost to remove and banish them, We did not cease

from the 4th of December of the past year to request and implore aid and succour from foreign Princes and nations. And here we cannot omit to communicate to you, O Venerable Brethren, the especial consolation we experienced in learning that the said Princes and nations, as well as others not united to Us in the bonds of Catholic unity, attested and declared, by the most lively expressions, their spontaneous good-will towards Us, which sympathy, whilst it wonderfully softens the bitterness of Our grief, and gives Us comfort, especially proves how an All-merciful God ever succours His Holy Church. And We cherish the hope that all will be persuaded that it is from contempt of our most holy religion those terrible calamities have sprung, by which, in these trying times, both nations and kingdoms are scourged, and that it is impossible to find any remedy and alleviation except from the Divine doctrines of Christ and of His Holy Church, which, as the fruitful mother and nurse of all virtue, and chastiser of all vices, whilst she trains men to walk in the paths of truth and justice, and unites them together in the bonds of a common charity, wonderfully superintends and provides for the public good, and the order of civilised society.

"After having invoked the succour of all the Princes, We asked the more willingly for aid from Austria, whose territories on the north adjoin Our own, inasmuch as she has not only ever lent her powerful assistance in defence of the temporal dominion of the Apostolic See, but also because she gives Us now sure ground to hope that, in conformity with Our most ardent desires and most just demands, certain maxims which have ever been condemned by the Apostolic See, are discountenanced in that kingdom, and by this means the Church has recovered its liberty there, to the great benefit and advantage of the faithful. This intelligence We announce to you with the greatest satisfaction, and are certain it will give you no small consolation.

"We also demanded the like aid from France, to whom We bear especial affection and benevolence, whilst the clergy and the faithful of that nation have done all in their power to mitigate

and soften the bitterness of Our anguish, with the most ample demonstrations of filial reverence and devotion.

"We also requested aid from Spain, who, greatly sympathising with Us, and distressed by Our afflictions, was the first to excite the other Catholic Powers to contract a filial alliance, for the purpose of restoring the common Father of the Faithful, the Supreme Pastor of the Church, to his See.

"Finally, We asked similar aid from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in which We are guests of its King, who, occupying himself to the utmost to promote the true and solid happiness of his people, is so refulgent in religion and piety as to offer a conspicuous example to his own subjects. Although We cannot sufficiently describe in words with how much eagerness and solicitude the Prince himself earnestly seeks, by all manner of good offices, and by the clearest proofs, to manifest continually the singular filial devotion which he bears towards Us, yet never will his illustrious merits be lost to Our remembrance. Nor can We pass over in silence the testimonies of piety, of love, and reverence, which the clergy and people of this kingdom have never ceased to offer Us, since We entered within its confines.

"We therefore hope, that by the aid of God, these Catholic Powers, having at heart the cause of the Church and of the Supreme Pontiff, the common Father of the Faithful, will hasten as speedily as possible to reclaim and defend the civil power of the Apostolic See, and to restore to our subjects the peace and tranquillity which they have lost, and We trust that the enemies of our most holy religion and of civilised society will be banished from Rome and from all the Pontifical States.

"As soon as that shall happen, We ought certainly with the greatest vigilance, solicitude, and zeal, to endeavour to remove all those great and crying errors and scandals which, in common with all the good, We have had reason deeply to lament. And first of all, it will be imperatively necessary to strive to illumine with the light of eternal truth all those whose souls have been deluded by the falsehoods, deceit, and frauds of the impious; that men may perceive the fatal fruits of error and

vice, and that they may be stirred up and animated to walk in the paths of virtue, of religion, and of justice. For you well know, Venerable Brethren, what horrible, and in every sense monstrous doctrines, springing up from the depths of hell, have spread ruin and desolation all around, and are still raging furiously to the very great injury of religion and society, which perverse and pestiferous doctrines our enemies are never tired of diffusing amongst the people, both by word of mouth and by writing, and in the public spectacles, in order to increase and propagate more and more, the unbridled licence of every kind of impiety, cupidity, and passion; from which source proceed all those calamities, misfortunes, and disasters which have so much distressed, and are still distressing, the human race, and one might almost say, the whole world. You are not ignorant of the war they are still waging in Italy itself, against our most holy religion, and what frauds and artifices the terrible enemies of religion and of society employ to alienate the souls of men, particularly the inexperienced, from the sanctity of faith and of sound doctrine, and to submerge them beneath the whirlpool of unbelief, and spur them on to the commission of the most grievous deeds. And to facilitate the execution of their projects, to excite and promote sedition and disturbance, they dare, after the manner of the heretics, completely despising the supreme authority of the Church, to invoke, interpret, change, and arrest to their own perverse and private meaning, the words, the testimony, and the sentiments of the Holy Scriptures, and, rising to the climax of impiety, they do not tremble wickedly to employ, for their own ends, even the most holy Name of Jesus Christ. Nor are they deterred by shame from publicly asserting, that the violation of the most sacred oaths, as well as the most wicked and criminal actions, however repugnant to the eternal laws of Nature, are not only undeserving blame, but perfectly lawful and worthy of all praise, when done, as they say, through love for their country. By such impious and distorted ways of reasoning, all idea of decency and justice is entirely destroyed in the minds of these men, who defend and

praise with consummate impudence, the hand of even the assassin and the cut-throat.

"To the other innumerable frauds which the enemies of the Catholic Church do not cease to employ, to separate and tear away from her bosom the unwary and the inexperienced, they add the most atrocious and abominable calumnies, which they do not blush to invent and to launch forth against Our own person. We, indeed, filling on earth, though unworthy, the place of Him who, *when He was reviled, reviled not again—when He suffered, He threatened not*—support with perfect patience, and in silence, the most bitter outrages, and never for a moment cease from praying for Our calumniators and persecutors. But being debtor both to the learned and to the ignorant, and bound diligently to provide for the salvation of all, and especially to prevent offence to the weak, We cannot but cast from Us, in this your Assembly, that falsest and blackest of all calumnies launched against us by some recent journals. Incredible as was the horror by which We were seized when We read the invention by which Our enemies sought to inflict a most serious blow upon Us and the Apostolic See, still We had not the slightest fear that such most impudent lies could even lightly injure the supreme Chair of Truth, or Us, who, without any merit of Our own, are seated in it; and, through a singular exercise of the Divine mercy, We were able to use those words of the Divine Redeemer, *I have spoken openly to the world, and in secret have I said nothing.* Here, O Venerable Brethren, We esteem it opportune to repeat and inculcate what We emphatically declared, in Our allocution of the 17th of December, 1847, that the impious, in order to be able more easily to deprave the true and genuine doctrine of the Catholic religion, and deceive and lead others into error, never ceased to use every invention, machination, and effort in their power, to make it appear that the Holy See itself was in some measure a participator and a favourer of their folly. And to every one it is well known that most pernicious and dark societies and sects have at different times and under various names been formed and established by the

fabricators of lies and the followers of perverse doctrine, for the purpose of more easily instilling into the mind their insane follies, systems, and plots; of corrupting the hearts of the simple, and opening a wide path for committing with impunity all kinds of wickedness. Which abominable sects of perdition, most pernicious, not only to the salvation of souls, but also to the good and repose of society, ever detested by Us, and already condemned by Our predecessors, We also have condemned in Our Encyclical Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic world, given on the 9th of November, 1846, and now, in the exercise of Our supreme ecclesiastical authority, again condemn, prohibit, and proscribe.

"It was not Our intention in this Our Allocution to enumerate all the errors by which the miserably deluded people have been hurried into such grievous misfortunes, or to enumerate all the machinations by which it is sought to encompass the ruin of the Catholic religion, and to attack and invade on every side the Hill of Sion. Those we have already with great sorrow mentioned, sufficiently demonstrate that these calamities and misfortunes, by which kingdoms and nations are so completely overwhelmed, have been occasioned by the introduction of false doctrines, and by the contempt which has been cast upon religion and justice. In order to get rid, then, of such serious evils, We ought not to spare any pains, counsels, exertions, troubles, or vigils, so that such perverse doctrines may be eradicated, and all men may understand that true and solid felicity consists in the exercise of virtue, of justice, and of religion. Therefore, both We and you, and all other Venerable Bishops of the whole Catholic world, ought to exert ourselves with all possible care, anxiety, and zeal, in order that the faithful, being rescued from poisonous, and led into wholesome pastures, and being nourished more and more every day with the words of truth, may know and avoid the frauds and deceits of lying men, and seeing clearly that the fear of God is the source of all good, and that sin and iniquity call down chastisement from God, they may use every endeavour to separate themselves from what is

evil, and to do that which is good. Wherefore, in the midst of so great anguish, We experience no small consolation in knowing with what firmness and constancy of soul Our Brethren, the Venerable Bishops of the whole Catholic world, faithfully attached to us and to the Chair of St. Peter, together with their faithful clergy, manfully exert themselves to defend the cause of the Church, and to maintain its liberty; and with what priestly earnestness and anxiety they use every exertion to lead the good into the paths of righteousness—to bring the wanderers into the way of justice—and by their voice and their writings to repel and confound the obstinate enemies of religion. And whilst We are happy in offering to the said Venerable Brethren just and merited praise, We would stir up their hearts, in order that, with the Divine aid, they may continue to fulfil, with ever-increasing zeal, the duties of their ministry—to fight the battles of the Lord, and to raise their voice with wisdom and strength to preach the Gospel to Jerusalem, and to heal the wounds of Israel. In order to this, let them not cease to have recourse with confidence continually to the throne of grace; let them redouble both public and private prayers; and earnestly seek to inculcate upon the faithful that they should perform acts of penitence, so that they may obtain favour from the Lord, and find His present aid in their time of need. Nor should they cease from exhorting men of understanding and of sound doctrine to endeavour, under the direction of their own pastors and of the Apostolic See, to enlighten the minds of the people, and to dissipate the darkness of insidious error.

"Here We would conjure, in the name of the Lord, Our beloved sons in Christ Jesus, together with all potentates and governors, attentively and seriously to consider the evil and injury resulting to society from such a torrent of sins and errors, and with all care, earnestness, and anxiety, to use every endeavour so that virtue, religion, and justice may everywhere triumph, and have ever wider extension; and We entreat all people, nations, and kingdoms, with their rulers, to reflect and consider assiduously and attentively,

that all good is placed in the practice of virtue, and that all evil arises from iniquity, for *righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.*

"But, before bringing Our address to a conclusion, We cannot refrain from attesting publicly and openly, what gratitude We feel towards those, Our most beloved and affectionate sons, who, deeply sympathising with Us in Our calamity, by an especial feeling of affectionate devotion towards Us, have been pleased to send Us their oblations. Although such pious offerings bring Us no small comfort, yet, at the same time, We must confess, that Our heart is much oppressed, because We cannot but fear, in the lamentable condition of public affairs, lest, transported by an impulse of love, they may have exposed themselves, through their generous sacrifice, to severe inconvenience and loss.

"Finally, Venerable Brethren, We resign Ourself fully to the inscrutable decrees of the wisdom of God, by which He works out His own glory, whilst, with humility of heart, We render infinite thanks to the Lord, who has deemed Us worthy to suffer outrages for the sake of Christ Jesus, and to be thus in some degree conformed to the image of His passion; and We are ready, in faith, hope, patience, and humility, to suffer the most bitter travail and anguish, and to yield up even Our life for the Church, if by the shedding of Our blood, it were permitted Us to heal the calamities of the Church. In the meantime, O Venerable Brethren, let us not cease to offer humbly, by day and night, fervent prayers to the Lord God of mercy, and to conjure Him, by the merits of His only-begotten Son, to rescue His Holy Church, by His omnipotent right hand, from the great tempests by which it is tossed; and with the light of His Divine grace to illumine the minds of those who have gone astray; to conquer the hearts of the deceivers through the abundance of His mercy, in order that, all errors being banished, and all adversity removed, every one may see and recognise the light of truth and of justice, and walk in the unity of the Faith, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. And let us never cease humbly to implore from Him

who is the author of peace in heaven, and who is Himself our peace, that all evils by which the Christian community is persecuted, being removed, He would deign to grant to the whole world the peace and tranquillity so much desired. And that the Almighty may more graciously lend an ear to our prayers, let us have recourse to mediators near Him, and first let us pray to the Most Holy Virgin, the Immaculate Mary, who is the Mother of the Lord, and our Mother, and who, as the Mother of Mercy, obtains what she entreats, and cannot but be heard. Let us also implore the intercession of Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of his fellow Apostle, St. Paul, and of all the Saints, who, having already become friends of God, reign with Him in Heaven, that through their merits and their prayers, the most merciful God may liberate the faithful from the rod of His anger, and protect them always, and make them glad with the abundance of His Divine benignity."

A very important document was this, which reproved the people, and flattered Austria with singular obsequiousness; praised the clergy and the faithful in France, but not the Government; gave a character for holiness to the Government and King of Naples; made grateful mention of even heterodox powers, but was silent as to Piedmont; reproved or calumniated every man, with the exception of one, who had held office in the Government of Pius IX. before and after the insurrection; implied that the statute was worthless, because it was the result of troublesome times, and the *Cardinals knew how it had been produced.* Assuredly, the Cardinals and the Court did know how it had been produced, because they alone had framed it; but the laity, who had read in the preamble that it was sanctioned *by the Divine aid which had been implored,* and *the unanimous assent of the Cardinals of the Holy*

Roman Church, and who had seen the most emphatic and sacred formulas of the Pontifical Chancery used under the inviolable seal of its sanction—the laity could not know, or even honestly suspect, that it had been given only to be taken back again.

CHAPTER III.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF BARRICADES, AND OF THE ASSEMBLY TO THE PEOPLE OF ROME.—ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE TRIUMVIRS.—NEAPOLITAN INVASION.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—THE SPANIARDS AT FIUMCINO.—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—ECONOMIC AND CIVIL DECREES.—AUSTRIAN INVASION.—TEXT OF A PROCLAMATION BY MONSIGNOR BEDINI.—CONDITION OF ROME.—RUMOURS.—ROBBERIES.—BLOODY VIOLENCE.—MENACES.—TEXT OF A PROCLAMATION OF THE TRIUMVIRS.—THE PROVINCES.—BOLOGNA.—ADVICE OF MAMIANI TO THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS.—DOCUMENTS.—ROMAGNA.—THE MARCHES.—UMBRIA.—THE PAPAL INSURRECTION STIRRED UP BY MONSIGNOR SAVELLI.—ASCOLI.—ADDRESSES OF THE MUNICIPALITY TO THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

LET us resume our narrative. Italians *do* fight: they had recently given proofs of it to the Austrians in many popular tumults and pitched battles; the Romans, fighting bravely on the 30th of April, testified it to General Oudinot. The jeerer was jeered in his turn. "People," said the committee of barricades, "yesterday the entrance of the French into Rome began. They entered by the Porta San Pancrazio, they were brought in as prisoners. To us, the people of Rome, this is no great wonder. But it must, nevertheless, cause a curious sensation at Paris."

And in another proclamation, mentioning the damage which had been done by bullets to one of the tapestries of Raphael in the Vatican, and by the French

artillery, which had fired at the wonderful dome of St. Peter's, they used these words, in order to give to the world an idea of the barbarous devastations committed by the French:—

"People! General Oudinot promised to pay for all and everything, in ready money. So be it. Let him pay, if he can, for the tapestry by Raphael which French bullets have pierced; let him pay for the damage—nay, more than damage—the insult, which he has hurled against Michael Angelo."

And in the Government Gazette they said:—

"The generals of the French Government repeatedly affirmed you would not fight. Our soldiers have already given the lie to the infamous calumny."

These words, together with the retreat of the assailants, the sight of the prisoners, and the complacency occasioned by victory, excited in the minds of the elated people feelings of pride, which spurred them on to give an example worthy of an illustrious antiquity. "Persevere," said the Assembly from the Quirinal, where it was now sitting; "persevere; in Rome you defend Italy, and the Republican cause of the world."

In the meantime, Triumvirs and Ministers, Deputies and Commissioners, used every possible exertion to maintain the devotion of the people to the Republic, and to make preparations for a more serious defence. They attended the wounded with the greatest care, provided magnificent funerals for those who had fallen, and gave sympathy and compensation to their families; they applied themselves to the amelioration of the condition of prisons, arranging that the spacious con-

vent of *San Bernardo alle Terme* should be converted into a House of Reclusion; they decreed that the insane, confined until that time in sordid ruinous hovels, should be lodged in the Montalto Palace, the delightful autumnal retreat of the Jesuits at Frascati; they granted ten days' grace for the payment of debts which had fallen due; they ordered that at the first sound of the tocsin the Holy Sacrament should be exposed in the churches, to implore the salvation of Rome. The delegates appointed to visit the wounded issued public reports of the attention they had paid to them, in well-chosen terms; the leaders of the people magnified the victory they had gained, persuading them that everything else would turn out well; popular preachers published "records" (so they called them, after the manner of the missionaries), in which they pronounced the war, undertaken against the foreigner, sacred; affirmed that God and the people were the foundation of all justice; that it was the duty of the Christian to die for his country; and that the temporal dominion of the Pope was contrary to the doctrine of Christ. By these "records" of Republican missionaries, by this reverential exposure of the Holy Sacrament, by large salaries, by promises of comfortable lodging in convents, and by fresh spectacles, the Roman populace was edified in a way that was in strict conformity with the education it had received.

But new perils impended. Although General Oudinot had informed Count Ludolf, who proffered him aid, in the name of King Ferdinand, that he could not unite with the Neapolitan troops, yet General Win-

speare entered into the Roman State, and published a manifesto, in which he signified his intention to restore, by force, the Pontifical Government. As soon as this got abroad, it caused a great commotion in the city; the people took up arms with as much eagerness as they had done a few days before against the French; and, perhaps, with even greater, because (with the exception of the clergy, who since the 30th of April had been disheartened and frightened,) there were no partisans or friends of his Bourbon Majesty in Rome; and because, though some may have confided in French liberality, King Ferdinand had, at any rate, taken from every one all pretext for accusing him of any generous intentions.

The Triumvirs announced the Neapolitan invasion to all the people of the Roman State; assured them that Rome was prepared to repel it with the same vigour with which it had conquered the French, and instigated them to undertake war to the death, publishing a chapter of advice on the best mode of conducting it. A demand was made for money; they ordered that the taxes due for two months previous should be paid within twenty-four hours, together with the half of those for the two months following; they endeavoured to infuse order into the multitudes who had been called out and mustered, and to introduce discipline into the popular combat; then they sent Garibaldi with a body of picked soldiers against the new invaders, keeping the rest of the troops ready for any movement the enemy might make. At the same time, to give an idea of their justice, they annulled the

iniquitous privilege of *mano regia*, conceded to private individuals by the Pontifical Government; and, to please the people, they presented the asylums for children with all the superfluous furniture of monks and nuns, who, from vast and sumptuous palaces, were reduced to more modest habitations.

The Spaniards, also, who were making a descent rather to cause a diversion in the temper of Rome, than to aid the Catholic enterprise, were at Fiumcino, a small town situated at the mouth of the Tiber, where, on account of the malaria, there are only a few hundred inhabitants in the winter, and none whatever in the summer. The captain of the vessel Mazzaredo, published a manifesto, addressed to all the authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, in which he spoke of "the great satisfaction which the generous heart of his Holiness would experience, so soon as he should hear of their spontaneous submission." Yet at Fiumcino there were no authorities to give in their submission, no forces to subdue, excepting those of the malaria.

"Spain, also," said the Triumvirs to the Romans, "sends you an insolent challenge, couched in haughty words, according to its custom. Thus the chorus is complete. Austria, France, and Spain, are trying once again the old story, responding to the appeal of a Pope," and they concluded by saying, "be they two or three, the difference is small, and Rome will not draw back from her high resolve."

So the Government remained firm in its intentions; it increased the preparations for the war, by recalling from

the provinces the regular troops, under the command of Roselli, a man of much knowledge and singular modesty; by purchasing, at a high price, percussion muskets, and by making collections of pikes and calthrops; it flattered the people, by confiding in their bravery; the students, by abolishing the fees on academical degrees; the small communes and parishes, by the permission to open druggists' shops, which had not been allowed in places of less than three thousand inhabitants, and it gratified the poor, by granting an additional ten days' grace for the payment of debts; at the same time it showed its zeal to improve the civil government, by temporarily constituting the "Curia," in accordance with the legislative reforms recently introduced; by striking out all names of supernumeraries in public offices, and those who were entered for reversions, according to the vicious system long pursued by clerical administrations; and, by the advice of the Committee on Finance, it made some praiseworthy economical regulations. The pernicious plan of farming the public revenues was condemned; and the excise on all articles of consumption, salt, and tobacco, was placed under one general administrative direction; taxes were consolidated, the tariff was modified, and the duties considerably lowered, — a change which gratified the people, and satisfied the friends of free trade. The only class who bore a grudge to the Republic were the smugglers.

The Austrians, for the sixth time in thirty years, now trod on soil belonging to the State of Rome. They marched from Ferrara and Modena, under the

command of Count Wimpffen. He announced that he was leading his troops to Rome, to restore the Papal Government, "overthrown by a perverse faction;" that he hoped to find the people submissive, otherwise he should use severe measures. In his rear came Monsignor Bedini, who thus addressed the citizens of Bologna, and the other inhabitants of the Legations:—

"Deputed by the Supreme Pontiff to reinstate his sovereign authority among you, it is in his august name that I address you, and invite you to a wise and peaceful submission. You, generous and noble-minded people, cannot forget the benefits and sympathy lavished upon you by a Pontiff, whose heart overflows with nothing but love and pardon towards his beloved children. A proof of this you already gave, when you knew not how to curb your indignation at the marvellous ingratitude exhibited on the very scene of his triumphs, and more than ever sought to prove yourselves children of such a father. Oh! that it had been permitted him then to hasten hither, and taste the sweets of that holy, reverential affection.

"Providence, in rendering it so difficult to follow the impulses of the heart, has reserved us all for more sorrowful trials. In its inscrutable counsels, it designs, perchance, that by means of these trials, deceit should be thoroughly unmasked, illusions about men and things made clearly manifest, and the lesson of experience completed; for hers is the only voice which at last finds an echo in the hearts of the stubborn, and seals with its eternal sanction the holiness of principles.

"Let there be an end, once for all, to the sighs of the oppressed, and the audacity of the oppressor. Let the sacrilegious usurpation, not only of the most sacred rights, but of every the most sacred name cease also. It is in vain to deny that under its influence the sounder portion of the people have been seduced and tempted by the malignant to the commission of horrible crimes; nor are there any who do not now admit the destruction of society, of religion, and of personal

existence itself, to be the offspring of that nefarious proceeding. Interrogate your inmost hearts, and the aspect of your country; the misery that reigns there confirms this melancholy truth.

"In this extremity of evil, it was necessary to have recourse to extreme remedies; and arms, purely protective, are associated with me in an enterprise, which the conscience of every man, if not the delirium of passion, will allow to be most holy. I trust that in this mission I shall meet with full support in the good sense, piety, and gratitude of those, who have always been especially dear to my heart, and to whom I am impatient to give no doubtful proof of my affection, moved therein by Him who will never cease to be more a Father to you than a Prince."

Thus four armies assailed the Roman Republic; one of which promised liberty, and a government acceptable to the people; the other three brought nothing but the gift of clerical government. The Pontifical Commissioner promised to relieve the oppressed and humiliate the oppressors, a mission worthy of a priest, whilst he headed foreign troops, and those the most hateful of all, to restore, after the ordinary fashion, temporal dominion.

The invasions occasioned still greater deteriorations in the credit of the Roman treasury, so that the metallic currency came to be double the value of paper, and small exchanges were effected with so much difficulty that shopkeepers were obliged to issue a kind of conventional money of their own. This scarcity of money caused much trouble and annoyance to the citizens; but as the lower orders—whether they worked, or only pretended to do so—whether they remained under arms in order to fight, or to get pay—were rewarded with double or still higher wages, it

followed not only that they did not suffer, but that they had more than usual to spend on their wants or their pleasures. Moreover, as there are in Rome but few proprietors or citizens who live on their incomes, or by commerce or trade, and as advocates, pettifoggers, busybodies, writers, quarrelsome fellows, beadles, and ciceroni, who are very numerous and industrious, easily got hold, in such confusion, of employment, or of the public money, it followed that the distressed and discontented were not very numerous. But the peccant humours which abounded found food in the perils that menaced the country, and as individual malignant passions not only do injury to the public weal, but also to the public reputation, they militated against the well-being of society, and also against the character of the Government. In fact, many tumults and disorders occurred, which being of no great moment when the unusual state of things is considered, I think it superfluous to recount. But it must be recorded to their lasting shame that some of those who were employed in the police, or public offices, made use of the money or stores given or voted to the public use for their own advantage; and that others were guilty of rapine and violence without meeting with the punishment justly due to their crimes. The enthusiasm caused by the victory which had been obtained; the hope of still greater glory; national indignation, and the charms of Republicanism, filled, indeed, the souls of a noble-minded youth, and of a proud and honourable people; but it was not the same with those perverse men who make their appearance in times of revolution, and

seize upon the substance, and rebel against the usages of civilized society. Thus when once the Government, thinking to find desperate aid for a desperate enterprise, had exerted themselves to kindle the flame of insurrection in the minds of the people, they did not find it so easy afterwards to extinguish the hatred, tame the vengeance, and reduce to moderation the affections and passions which had been thus excited. It even seemed as though they were too compassionate towards the follies and crimes of those who swore by the Mazzinian creed; and the Master being seen to hold familiar intercourse with rogues, such intimacy took from the Government the authority of correcting their opinions and actions. And as amidst the delirium of despair, the souls of men lose the consciousness of noble feelings, and think only of their own safety, so governments reduced to such a state lose all sense of justice and honour, and do not heed events which in peaceful times would fill them with horror.

But at last circumstances occurred which moved the rulers of Rome. One day a report went about that in the neighbourhood of Rome guns had been fired at some of the soldiers, and whether true or not (for it is difficult to say) the exaggerated account of this supposed attack led to the belief that a reaction had commenced, and that the Jesuits had been the authors of this violence. Whereupon the soldiers and the people armed themselves in haste, and went out in search of the culprits. It is natural and probable that the priests and Jesuits plotted against the Republic, and kept up

intercourse with the enemy, but it was certainly the fancy of a diseased imagination to believe that they would go into the suburb to pursue Republican soldiers, or that they would take their revenge in such a manner. The fact is, that three unfortunate men—whether they were Jesuits, or vine-dressers, we have no certain proof—were seized and led into Rome, amidst the imprecations of the threatening crowd. "Help! help! they are Jesuits—at 'em! at 'em!" was the cry, and they were torn to pieces at Pont' Sant' Angelo before they were dead. Villas were sacked, houses were entered, property plundered, and the inmates injured; threats were whispered of sacking convents; so great was the appetite for the money of churches and monasteries.

On the 8th of May the Etruscan Museum, abounding in gold, a more attractive bait to thieves than the curiosities of the arts, was found open. It was imagined that pilferers had discovered some means of opening the doors in order to enter afterwards at their leisure, and rob with impunity, and perhaps this was in fact their intention. But as, on the restoration of the Papal Government, it was discovered that there was a Papal *employé* in the Museum who had stolen some coins, it is doubtful whether he had not opened the doors that blame might be laid on outdoor robbers and not on the indoor thief. As also, whilst the Republic lasted, there was really nothing abstracted from the Museum, excepting what this fellow had purloined, the charge of dishonouring their country, which was laid at the door of Republicans on this account, is

false. But the circumstances which I have mentioned led the Triumvirs to provide that similar crimes should be investigated and punished by military tribunals. The severe manifesto I subjoin proves the gravity of the case, and the perturbation which filled the minds of the authorities.

"Rare, but serious disorders, the first commencement of a system of plunder, offences against property, menace the majestic calm with which Rome has sanctified her victory. For the honour of Rome, for the triumph of the sacred cause which we defend, it is necessary that these disorders should cease. Everything in Rome should be great, the energy of the combat, and the bearing of the people after victory. The arms of men, who live, mindful of their ancestors, should, in the midst of these eternal memories, be never aimed at the breast of the unarmed, or used to protect acts of violence. The repose of Rome should be that of the Lion—a repose as solemn as its roar is terrible. Romans! your Triumvirs have taken upon themselves the solemn pledge of showing to Europe that you are better than those who assail you, that every accusation hurled against you is a calumny; that Republican principles have extinguished those seeds of anarchy which were fomented by the previous Government, and which the re-establishment of the past alone could reproduce; that you are not only brave, but good, and that firmness and law are the soul of your Republic. Under these conditions, your Triumvirs will remain at your head with pride: under these conditions they will fight, hastening with you to the barricades, citizens like yourselves. Let them remain inviolate as the love which binds together rulers and people, irrevocable as the common resolve of Government and people, to maintain intact, and pure from every stain, the banner of the Republic.

"The person is inviolable, the Government alone has the right and duty to punish.

"Property is inviolable. Every stone in Rome is sacred. The Government alone has the right and duty to modify the

inviolability of property when the good of the country requires it.

"It is permitted to *none* to make arrests or domiciliary visits without the direction or assistance of a military commander.

"Foreigners are especially protected by the Republic. All citizens are moral securities for the reality of this protection.

"The military Commission which has been instituted decides rapidly, as the exceptional nature of the circumstances and the safety of the people require, all acts of sedition, reaction, anarchy, and violation of the laws.

"The National Guard, as it has proved itself ready to fight bravely for the safety of the Republic, will prove itself ready to maintain its honour inviolate before Europe. To it specially is committed the preservation of order and the execution of the regulations here laid down."

Avezzana, in another proclamation, endeavoured to restrain those who stole horses and goods in the name of the army.

Serious were the troubles and memorable the events which took place in the provinces. I mentioned how the Constitutional party, predominant at Bologna, foreseeing that the public liberty would be ruined by the Mazzinian experiments, had from the first used every honest endeavour to secure it. But as it was clear that the Court of Gaeta was not only indisposed faithfully to adhere to the Statute, but that it feared the counsels of the Constitutionalists even more than Mazzinian violence, they abstained from any interference whatever; for the efforts made to restore the miserable government of the clergy were not theirs, but the work of the Germans. The affairs of Rome having afterwards reached the point which we have

mentioned, and the French expedition having been dispatched, the Republicans in the provinces hoped it would prove the bulwark of the Roman Republic. The Constitutionalists, on the other hand, were persuaded that France, having taken up arms at the invitation of the Pope, would use them for his purposes, and not for those of the Republic. Yet as the ambassadors of France at the Courts of Tuscany and Gaeta professed liberal views, there were some who ventured to conjecture that the French, having once entered Rome, would restore the State to those conditions which the disturbances in November had changed. They began, therefore, to question, whether it would not be advisable to request France to protect free institutions, as her ambassadors and envoys had recommended, and in consequence, Mamiani wrote to Bologna, saying, that although it was not advisable to place much confidence in the promises made by the French Government, yet as "M. Drouyn de l'Huys had asked for some striking demonstration in favour of constitutional liberty, because it would serve to aid him in the arrangement he was attempting, it was contemplated to invite the most distinguished of the Municipalities to send an address to President Bonaparte, and he looked to Bologna to set the example." He concluded by introducing the project of an address, couched in the following terms:—

"THE MUNICIPALITY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC:

"At the time when our minds were filled with distress, under the fresh disaster which had befallen the Italian arms,

we received information that your Government, M. President, in concert with those of Spain, Austria, and Naples, had resolved to comply with the formal demand which his Holiness Pius IX. had made, for the intervention of all the four Powers, in order to regain the possession and the exercise of his temporal power.

"It is impossible for us to believe that you, your Government, and the French nation, will consent to such a demand, and employ the force of arms, if necessary, to carry it into effect, without, at the same time, maintaining and guaranteeing to this people the free institutions of which they are in possession, should they be threatened and attacked by a reactionary party, against the will of the Prince himself, and should war be waged against the intense desire which the people have cherished for so many years, and which they have shown by so many efforts, by innumerable victims, by all those signs and testimonies, which clearly indicate the indomitable and persevering will of civilised populations.

"If, therefore, oppressed as we are by the new misfortunes of Italy, we do not preserve the power of disposing of ourselves according to our wishes, still that justice, which we dare not hope to obtain from other potentates, we trust to receive from you, and from your Government, which, in virtue of its present Republican Constitution, cannot make use of arms in another country, to the hurt and detriment of the nationality and freedom of a people.

"And, moreover, the Government of France should seriously consider, and be firmly persuaded, that unless a large and free representative Government is conceded to these provinces, and the administration confided to secular hands, with all those guarantees which are the natural and real safeguards of constitutional liberty, the Powers will entirely fail, or most imperfectly succeed, in every end they propose to obtain by their intervention; disturbances of every kind will begin afresh, and, if possible, become more frequent, and more fierce than they ever were before.

"Political Reforms, merely Legislative Councils, even the

enfranchisement of the Municipality, however large and well framed these measures may be, would not be sufficient, after what has taken place both here and in Europe, to restore quiet, security, and lasting content to this unhappy country. For absolute guarantees are required, which cannot be eluded, falsified, or destroyed; such as the liberty of the press, the Civic Guard, the responsibility of all the Ministers; the annual vote of taxes, and others of the same description. It is by these means alone, that we shall be able to resist, legally and efficiently, the powerful abettors of the ancient system, who, it must be confessed, are more numerous and obstinate among the ecclesiastical orders than is generally supposed; more exasperated and embittered, than enlightened and corrected by terrible events which have recently occurred; because they are disposed, more than ever, to rely on the success and the predominance of the eternal enemies of the Italian name.

"We, then, who believe we have a special claim to be considered as the representatives and interpreters of the will of the people, inasmuch as we have been invested with the magistracy under the new Municipal law, in virtue of a free and universal suffrage, do not hesitate to give expression to these wishes, as proceeding from the general opinion and desire of the people, and we confidently rely on your equity, and on that of your Government, persuaded that you will not ignore our rights—the universal rights of nations, and the supreme and inevitable necessity of the times. Nor will you deem it just or right to forget, M. President, that you once spontaneously took up arms for the liberties of this very people, in the midst of whom you were reared, and that your glorious blood also derives its source from them."

The opinion prevailed amongst the Bolognese, that as the Court of Gaeta was evidently determined not to restore the Statute, and the ambassadors of France gave no security that the wishes of the Municipality would be granted, it was the most prudent course to abstain from any demonstration whatever.

Meanwhile, the Government of Rome having ordered the Presidents of the provinces to convoke the Municipal Councils, in order that they might record their votes in favour of the Republic, Rodolfo Audinot, and Matteo Pedrini, proceeded to Bologna. Both these men, although they belonged to the moderate party in the Roman Assembly, were of opinion, that as all expedients for conciliation with the Court at Gaeta had failed, it was no longer advisable to make demonstrations in opposition to the Roman Government; and they feared that if Bologna should set the example, civic factions might disturb the State, and foreigners reap the advantage. Therefore they went to Bologna, to endeavour to induce the Municipality, if it would not pass a vote in conformity with republican wishes, to be at any rate contented with condemning the restoration of the clergy and the foreign invasion. Zannolini, the senator, had hinted that it appeared to him scarcely fitting that a Council which was instituted to direct the Municipal Administration, should debate on matters regarding the government of the State; but the doubt, though sagacious and honest, was not allowed to have any weight, nor was it possible it should have at that conjuncture. Afterwards, when they began to discuss the manifesto which they desired to draw up, Professor Ferranti, a priest of singular virtue and independent spirit, was of opinion that they should ask point blank for the restitution of the Statute and lay government, but the opinion of Audinot prevailed; and a declaration, opposing the restoration of the clergy and the foreign invasion,

was, paragraph by paragraph, discussed, corrected, and approved.

In the meanwhile, the news of the victory gained by the Romans on the 30th of April, reached Bologna, and re-awakened national exultation and republican hopes. Advantage was taken of this occasion to decorate with medals those among the citizens and people, who had been wounded on the 8th of August, in the victorious engagement with the Austrians, and to obtain from the National Guard pledges of fidelity to the Republic. There was at that time at Bologna a Lombard refugee, Brescianini by name, a theatrical politician, with other Italian refugees; some of them of good, others of bad character, but all of them of extreme opinions. These men, depending on the mob, which now began to raise its head again, not only determined to provoke by their vain boasts, the Austrians, who were making demonstrations on the confines, but to menace and insult the rich citizens, and every man who was, or was supposed to be, inclined to temperate opinions, and to prudent measures. Owing to this cause the city, which had hitherto preserved the 8th of August in dear and honoured memory, preserved it now in fear of the rapine and bloodshed, by which, on the succeeding days, it was contaminated, and it knew not whether most to fear the vengeance of the Austrians, or the outrages of thieves. Thus one-half of the city lived in licence, and the other half in terror. In this state of things the Municipal magistrates summoned a meeting, at which the President and the Commanders of the small military force were

present. In it a resolution was passed, that if the Government decided on resisting the Austrians, no arms should be given either to the populace or the refugees. But the latter broke into the armoury, and took from it those arms which they afterwards used, more to the apprehension and terror of the citizens, than to the damage of the enemy; of which more will be said hereafter.

In the other provinces of Romagna were Republicans, after the fashion of those at Rome; Constitutionalists, after the example of those at Bologna; Factions, according to established custom. Nor can I find anything worthy of particular mention, unless it be that in Ravenna, the Cardinal Archbishop Falconieri, a man of holy life and distinguished piety, who had been threatened by a few amongst the turbulent, was defended by the honest citizens, and by the public authorities, and, for the love of peace, retired from his See. The town of Pesaro was disturbed by the tumults of the people, who would not permit grain to be sent from the port to Venice; and Senegallia was a prey to the factions, who insulted the Bishop, Father Giusto, of Camerino, and committed many murders with impunity. Ancona, after the cut-throats which had ravaged it were cast into prison, by the exertions of the Commissary Orsini, had at last attained to tranquillity. In the quiet towns of the Marches faction was at a low ebb, yet Iesi was alarmed by murders, and Osimo by attempts at insurrection. Macerata and Perugia, those beautiful cities, maintained quiet and exemption from disgrace, under the firm rule of a wise Government,

administered, in the former, by Zanoni; in the latter, by Rota; there was licence at Foligno, and quiet at Spoleto and Camerino, at least as far as the times would permit. At Fermo, the Cardinal Archbishop de Angelis was arrested, and conducted to the fortress of Ancona, by order of the Roman Government, for having, so they said, held intercourse with Gaeta—a crime which deserves, I hardly know what blame or punishment; and for having given advice and encouragement to the insurgents on the confines of Naples (amongst whom he had a relation), which, if true, was not the office of a pastor of souls.

The province of Fermo was, indeed, tormented by the plots of these insurgents, and by the incursions which they made into the province of Ascoli. I have already described the earlier conflicts, and how, after the skirmish at Capo di Rigo, being pursued by Roselli, they took flight first to Arquata, and then to Regno, where Savelli, their principal commander, assembled them together, and prepared for new enterprises. When first the Republican soldiers abandoned those places to march to the succour of Rome, and there was no longer any doubt of the foreign invasions, it was Monsignor Savelli who set these men on. This fact is proved by his own letters, in which he congratulates a Major Palomba, praises a Brigadier Alboni, and says, "I should wish to profit by the good disposition of your worthy peasants, in spreading as much as possible the Pontifical Government, and humbling the sacrilegious Republicans." He ordered that the Commanders should remove from office such

municipal magistrates as were *suspected*, and advised them *to stir up the well-disposed of the province of Fermo* by means of the understanding which the *priest Taliani*, and *Piccione* kept up with *old friends;* that is to say, with those who had borne arms against the French at the time of the Consulate and the Empire. He then desired that "the administrators of the Exchequer and the Communes should be warned to pay no more money to the Republic, under penalty of having to pay twice." Thus, these brigands, as they are called, not only devastated the land which they had first infested, and attempted Amandola, but scoured Ascoli. The President Calindri, fearing that the brigands would be followed by the Neapolitan troops, who were collecting on the frontiers, left the city and betook himself to San Benedetto. But the city, which did not admire Monsignor Savelli's bravoes, determined to repulse them; encouraged not only by the Gonfaloniere Sgarilia, but also by the Bishop Zelli, who well knew that the priests of Taliani's band did not bring either benedictions or indulgences.

The Savellians accordingly went to the attack, and posted themselves within some houses in a suburb, from which the citizens dislodged them with great bravery, and thus freed themselves from that nuisance. Orsini, the same who had delivered Ancona from assassins, proceeded thither soon after with 500 soldiers, and made preparations for securing Ascoli from fresh aggressions. But after a short interval, Serpieri and Caldesi, two other Commissioners of the Assembly, recalled Orsini and the troops, fearing lest they might

be surrounded by the Neapolitans and the Austrians, who were descending from the Apennines. Nevertheless, the people of Ascoli defended themselves bravely, though unassisted. In the other provinces and territories nearer to the capital, no events worthy of mention took place. It is said, that at Orte, in the province of Viterbo, preparations were made for insurrection; the police intercepted some letters there, and arrested Father Secchi, a Jesuit, who, in disguise, and under an assumed name, was living in the house of the Countess Saracinelli.

In the meantime, all the provinces, municipalities, and clubs sent assurances to Rome of adhesion to the Republic, enmity to the government of the clergy, and protests against foreign invasion. Most sincere was the hatred against all clerical government, equally sincere the indignation against the foreigners who were attempting to restore it. The excitement of the times, the example of others, the declamatoryspeech es, and the docility with which the people learn to make certain shows of deference towards an existing government, dictated for the most part the phrases of reverence towards the Republic. To set great value on them, and to make great boast of them, as the Republicans did, is either puerility or imposture; to deprecate and scorn them, as the clergy did, is folly, since they can show nothing like them.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCURSI IN PARIS.—RUSCONI IN LONDON.—CARE TAKEN OF THE WOUNDED FRENCH AND THE PRISONERS.—EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.—ADDRESS OF FILOPANTI IN ST. PETER'S.—EXCUSES AND ACCUSATIONS OF GENERAL OUDINOT, AND OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS AT GAETA RELATIVE TO THE COMBAT OF THE 30TH APRIL.—REMARKS.—CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PARISIAN MOVEMENT OF FEBRUARY, 1848.—ON ITS CONSEQUENCES.—ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW STATE.—ON THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.—EXCITEMENT PRODUCED IN THE MINDS OF THE ASSEMBLY BY THE NEWS OF THE 30TH OF APRIL.—SPEECH OF JULES FAVRE.—ANSWER OF BARROT.—CONCLUSION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE ASSEMBLY.—TEXT OF THE COMMISSION GIVEN TO LESSEPS.—SOME EXPRESSIONS USED BY BARROT AND BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.—TENOR OF A SPEECH MADE BY BARROT TO THE ASSEMBLY.—ORDERS GIVEN TO GENERAL OUDINOT BY THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—LETTER FROM GENERAL OUDINOT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.—ARRIVAL OF LESSEPS IN THE FRENCH CAMP.

The governors of Rome thinking, on account of the victory which they had obtained, that they must endeavour to work upon France, sent Accursi to Paris for the purpose of treating, not so much with the Government as with the parties and sects which were opposed to it. At the same time, Rusconi wrote to the Catholic Governments, endeavouring to convince them that the enterprise in which they had engaged was bringing dishonour upon religion, by contaminating its robe with the blood they were shedding in order to

restore the temporal throne of the Pope. And inasmuch as he hoped but little from the French, and thought it was his duty to endeavour by every means in his power to obtain the countenance of England, he went himself to London to second the exertions of the Deputy Marioni, whom the Triumvirs had sent thither as an ambassador.

The French prisoners in Rome, and especially the wounded, were provided with every comfort, and attended to with the greatest care. History disclaims the whispered imputations on the character of the ladies who distinguished themselves in these charitable works, for if there be truth in the charge that all were not wholly irreproachable (a charge which the right-minded would not urge, and the pious would ignore), private life is sacred in the temple of charity. Nor was it only to the wounded who had fallen into their power that the Romans showed kindness, for General Oudinot having asked as a favour that physicians might be sent to attend those whom he had left at Maglianella, they complied with his wishes, on which followed an exchange of good offices, and reciprocal proofs of generous feeling. When discussions were commenced respecting the exchange of prisoners, the General set at liberty the battalion of Mellara, and the Triumvirs announced that, as there was no reason for war between France and Rome, the latter, whilst firm in defending her own independence, was most anxious to avoid any misunderstanding between the two Republics, therefore the Roman people would not consider the soldiers who fought in obedience to the commands of

the French Government as responsible for its errors, and would accordingly liberate the prisoners of the 30th of April. These soldiers were led through the streets of Rome amidst crowds of an applauding people, and entered St. Peter's, where Filopanti solemnly addressed them in these words:—"Frenchmen and Italians! in this holy and sublime temple, let us together pray to the Omnipotent for the liberty of all people, and for universal fraternity." It was a striking sight to see them, Frenchmen and Italians, offering up their prayers together. When the French soon after left the church, they were accompanied to the gates of the city by the rejoicing people, and took their way to their quarters at Palo.

The news of the events of the 30th of April having reached Paris, the Government, the Assembly, and the factions, were affected and excited in various ways, according to their different characters and opinions. General Oudinot, whilst urging that he should have immediate reinforcements, had sought to retrieve his own reputation by laying on the refugees all the blame of the resistance offered by Rome, and had excused his own blunders by the supposed stratagems of the enemy. The ambassadors at Gaeta having also urged the General to attack the capital, when they found that the enterprise had turned out so contrary to their expectations, exaggerated the violence and the number of the foreigners, who they said were overpowering. Perhaps when this period shall become antiquity, and when the memory of the events here narrated shall be far removed from the passions which cast a veil over

the judgment, it will seem difficult to believe that those foreign Governments who bore arms against Rome could have made charges so insulting, and so contrary to the rights of nations, and that a private foreigner had undertaken to defend them. Yet we are witness to these and other insults and impostures, which, proceeding coolly with the narrative, I leave to the conscience of civilised nations to judge.

The Constitution of the French Republic having been sanctioned, and Buonaparte chosen President by the people, the Constituent French Assembly had now arrived at the termination of its existence. Although, generally speaking, in popular assemblies created by revolutions, moderate opinions only gain the ascendancy after a long interval from the stormy moment in which they have their origin, yet in this Constituent Assembly it was conservative ideas that prevailed, and the Catholic and Monarchical party had the upper hand. Which circumstance we must not refer so much to the stratagems they employed (which those persons are accustomed to do who ground their opinions upon circumstances which are merely accidental and lie upon the surface), as to the very nature of the movement which, in February, 1848, converted France into a republic—to its immediate consequences—and to the fallacy of the doctrines on which the new State was based. This movement, Parisian rather than national, was brought about much more by the influence of Papal cosmopolitanism, which had become liberal by a recent chance, and by the reforming movements in Italy, than by the virtue or strength of the French

Republicans, who, had it not been for the obstinacy of Louis Philippe and his counsellors, would not have been able, even temporarily, to catch fortune by the forelock. If this were not sufficiently shown in other ways, it would be conclusively proved by the mode in which the movement ended; for the nature of revolutions is better seen in their course, and the results in which they terminate, than in the noise which they make and the ephemeral changes which they generate. In the people and amongst the educated citizens there was a strong and just desire for greater extension of the franchise; in the lower orders of the large cities, the need and ardent desire for economical reforms was in some degree real; in all classes admiration of the triumphant Italian commotions prevailed, and the mania for imitation. The blindness of the Government and of the Conservative bigots gave opportunity to their eager adversaries and rivals of stirring up the city—to the republican faction of overpowering the Government—to the economic party of putting themselves forward and making their own use of the Republic. Monarchical institutions having fallen, those who had insurrectionised the city by attempting to extend them were struck with alarm, together with the conquered Conservatives; the men who had proposed to themselves the Republic as the ultimate end of their conspiracies, proud and astonished at their easy triumph, became at once conservative, and thus the Parisian movement suddenly took a retrograde direction; for every revolution which stops, recedes, or rather ceases altogether. The economic party

who called themselves Socialists, being composed of men engaged in the experiment of working out daring theories, and seeking for an expected good, alone desired to urge on the revolution, but they had to face not only all the old monarchical Conservatives, but the new republican Conservatives also. These Republicans, however, when they were elevated to the rank of Dictators, did not succeed any better in governing the country than the Orleans dynasty had done. For, as the latter had not been able to perceive, that, in order to save the monarchy, it was necessary to earn for it gratitude and glory, to extend the franchise, and to propitiate the people, so the heads of the Republic were not able to understand the true nature of the movements in Italy, which had acted as a spark to kindle the European conflagration; that is, the desire to settle and fix the several States on the natural basis of national independence, which is the legitimate, necessary, and infallible explanation of the civil rights of Christian peoples. If, instead of speaking after the manner of Sibyls of the treaties of 1815, and strutting before the face of Europe in garrulous and ambitious idleness, they had boldly proposed national independence as the aim of the revolution, they would have fed it with nutritious aliment, which would have produced, perhaps, a happy, certainly a most glorious result, and at the same time they would have moderated and corrected the bitter feelings which were boiling in the hearts of the populace. Forgetful of the past, ignorant and fearful of the present, improvident and jealous of the future, the republican rulers

imagined they should have it in their power to restore tranquillity to the city, to direct events at their pleasure, and to lull a commercial age with Lamartine odes and songs in praise of Man's nature; they believed they should be able to accomplish a revolution, tame the populace, and satisfy all desires for political and economic reforms by the single expedient of universal suffrage, that is to say, by putting in practice that fallacious theory which, in matters of reason, justice, and science, concedes absolute authority to mere numbers. But the Parisian movement being neither spontaneous nor national, it was evident that universal suffrage, as it cannot express universal opinion, must necessarily represent, on the one hand, the passions of parties, and on the other, the wishes of the rich, the learned, and the clergy, who always govern the masses when they are not inflamed by their own passions. For it is the natural tendency of universal suffrage (which, if the passions be unchained, can only generate the tyranny of a mob) to facilitate the restoration of the old system, or, rather, those furious refluxes which are called reactions, which take place when the people are in an uneasy state, on account of the changes of government having diminished profits, and turned poverty into misery, whilst the dominant faction are luxuriating in licence. Thus it happened that the rich, the clergy, and the middle classes, opposed to those economic changes which the Socialists had devised, were able to check the revolution, and to prepare a reaction much more easily by means of universal suffrage than they would have done if the republicans had been satisfied with a franchise restricted

to that class of citizens who are the most influenced by attachment to political forms. The clergy, who had borne a grudge to the Orleans dynasty, and approved the movement of February, had acquired that sort of authority over the people which they gain more completely in a pure democracy than in any other State; and it is clear they would have used it, as history teaches us they always do when they meddle with politics, either to transform the Government, should the mob be triumphant, into a so-called theocracy, which is nothing else than a barefaced clerical oligarchy combined with a vulgar democracy; or, should the lower orders fail, to re-establish those bigoted monarchies which are merely clerical tyranny in disguise, supported by a courtly aristocracy. But when the power of the economic factions, and of that disorderly multitude, which, restrained neither by religion nor principle, is ready to embrace any licentious and violent party whatever, had been destroyed in June, 1848, by the Conservative Republicans, the French Revolution was over; the preservation not only of the good, but also of the bad, economic institutions was secured, and the Constituent Assembly became, not only stationary, but retrograde. The Republicans, who were inimical to social revolutions, were obliged necessarily to incline towards political reactions, and they were carried so far that, finding themselves between the Scylla and Charybdis of a Republic which styled itself social, and the monarchy, they either sided with the latter in their heart, or had not courage openly to oppose those who were

striving to restore it. In this way, and not through the influence of the stars, we may explain the actual succession of events, and the rising fortunes of the Napoleon family ; because the nephew of Napoleon, whilst securing the repose desired by all, permitted the lower orders to hope for the gratification of those desires which were the sole moving cause of the late revolution, or at least the only flag under which all parties fought; and because, in the return to the past, he is more nearly allied than any other candidate to the people, and to that great revolution which finished at Napoleon, who consolidated its foundations, and covered it with glory. The revolution at the close of the last century, prepared by the vices of the court and the clergy, headed by philosophy and literature, and facilitated by the hunger of the people, was set in motion by reforms, which, whether they were political, or economic, or civil, effected a real radical change in the then conditions of society. Then it took root in the people, and necessarily extended to the populace who required a social change, and the populace submitted to its tyranny, until they were so wearied that they gave themselves up, according to their custom, to a despot. Weary, not of the revolution, its troubles, and risks, but as they had already reaped its fruits in the emancipation of labour, civil equality, participation in all civic rights and honours, they had no longer any impelling cause to expose themselves to risks and trouble for forms of government which they regard but little, seeing that they do not understand them.

But, although the Constituent Assembly of 1848,

thanks to universal suffrage, was stationary and retrograde, yet as it was still near its origin, and, in one of the articles of the Constitution, had made a law that the Republic should not carry arms against other nations who wished to attain to national independence, it was ashamed to undertake the enterprise of putting down the Roman Republic, and was much disturbed by the news of the battle which French soldiers had fought, with such unfortunate results, under the walls of Rome. Add to this, that every Assembly near the termination of its existence is naturally less amenable to Government, because the deputies think less of gratifying it, than of humouring their constituents, and because they give free scope to their natural inclinations, jealous of all interference, as well as to private resentment; therefore not only did the Republican Socialists get into a passion, but the very men who had consented in Parliament, that the monarchical and Catholic party should carry out the expedition to Cività Vecchia, either stood aloof or spoke angrily against it. Jules Favre, one of these, said on the 7th of May, that the Ministers, who had promised that the French soldiers should protect Italy from Austrian fury, had sent them to fight against the Romans; and when some deputies exclaimed that it was not against the Romans, but against foreigners, they had fought, he concluded in these words:—

"They are Romans, not foreigners, who take up arms against us, because we are foreigners at Rome; they are Romans who take up arms against that sacerdotal government, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, our troops would reimpose—Romans who are ready to die—Romans who have died.

Do you call them foreigners? Do you call them a horde of adventurers? To-morrow, probably, you will call those brigands, who have not permitted the soil of their country to be contaminated with impunity by foreign soldiers. Pretty ideas, upon my honour! When it was announced from this tribune that our soldiers had landed in Italy to defend liberty, to restore order, to correct anarchy, the truth then was not spoken, or another object was secretly in view. Certain commissions have been issued, under what influence I know not, so doubtful in their wording that they afford latitude for attempting any enterprise whatever: they are, as it were, a *carte blanche*, on which the Cardinals may write with the greatest ease the list of the proscribed, and of those condemned to death. It was said from this tribune (the *Moniteur* is my authority)—the words of the Minister of Justice do not leave the shadow of a doubt about it; those of General Lamoricière are most distinct—it was said, that nothing would be attempted against the Roman people; that we were taking up arms against the influence of Austria and the King of Naples. Now what cause have you served? For whom have you shed the blood of your brave officers and soldiers? For whom the Italian blood, the blood of that noble nation to whom you showed so much sympathy? That blood has been shed in behalf of the Pope, and of absolutism. France, who sent her soldiers into America to fight against English tyranny, was always, when she was guided by men worthy of her, the champion of liberty and of generous ideas—what have you done with France? You have made her the *gendarme* of absolutism."

Many and still more violent speeches followed, to which Barrot, the President of the Council, replied that the proclamation of General Oudinot, in which the Italians were called by the name of *brothers*, and the French were said to be sent into Italy, in the character of *auxiliaries in the great cause of liberty*, was the composition of the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

by which he intended to show the liberal intentions of Government. "France," he concluded, "cannot enter Italy, as every one must know, except in the interests of liberty." And, as one amongst the numerous accusations brought against him was this, that he ought not to have given any order to move upon Rome, he proceeded:—

"Do you forget, then, under what condition we gave that order? . . . . What was the object of our Italian enterprise? I appeal to the memory of all, and to the dictates of common sense—the object was to place a weight in the balance in which were weighed the destinies of Italy, to secure to the Roman people the conditions of good government and just liberty; conditions which would have been impaired by reaction or by foreign intervention. Now, I repeat, that, in order to obtain this double object, it was necessary to occupy a strong position in the Roman States."

He then denied expressly that General Oudinot had been ordered to attack the Roman Republic, saying:—

"The question is this—Have we given the General an order to attack the Roman Republic? That is the question we have to go into. I invoke the testimony of all who have read the written commission, and I ask them if there is in it a single indication of such an order. It is said that General Oudinot must have intimated to the Roman Government that it ought to resign, and I demand that the proof of such an intimation should be brought forward. It does not exist."

I do not think it necessary to give further details of what took place between the accusers and defenders of the Government. Suffice it to consign to history the words with which the Committee selected to propose a resolution concluded their report:—

"As to the movements of the army," they said, "it was clearly understood that it was to be quartered at Cività Vecchia,

the place chosen for the disembarkation, and that it was also to overcome any resistance it might meet with. But that, when it had proceeded thus far, we should await events, and should only march to Rome to preserve it from foreign intervention or from the excesses of a counter-revolution, as protectors and chosen arbitrators. Now the majority of your Committee, comparing the facts of which they have cognisance with all the statements which have been made to the Assembly, and with the declarations, on the strength of which it made its decision, have come to the conclusion that the direction given to the enterprise has not been conformable to the intention with which it was proposed and accepted; consequently, they have the honour to submit to you the following resolution:—*The National Assembly invites the Government to make, without delay, the necessary arrangements, in order that the Italian expedition may not deviate from the object that was proposed to it.*"

The Assembly approved the resolution by 388 votes against 241. The Ministers were so satisfied with the result (some of them in reality, others only in appearance) that they determined forthwith to dispatch an Envoy to Rome in order to carry it into execution, and M. Drouyn de l'Huys sent for M. Ferdinand Lesseps, and offered him the office in the name of the Government. Having accepted it, and undertaken to do all in his power to reduce the enterprise to the purpose originally assigned to it, in compliance with the wishes of the Assembly, the Minister advised him to proceed to Rome in company with Accursi, and gave him his instructions couched in the following terms:—

"As the events which have taken place in consequence of the French expedition to Cività Vecchia, are of a nature to complicate a question, which at first appeared very simple, the Government of the Republic has thought it desirable to associate with the General in command of the forces sent into Italy a

diplomatic agent who, giving himself up entirely to the negotiations and to the charge of the arrangements to be concerted with the authorities and the people of Rome, may attend to them with all the care and anxiety which a matter of such serious importance requires. Your zeal, sir, and your experience, your firmness, and the conciliatory temper of which you have given proof during the course of your career, have caused you to be selected by the Government for the conduct of this delicate affair. I have explained to you the nature of the question with which you will have to do. The object which we propose to ourselves is that of saving the States of the Church from the anarchy by which they are afflicted, and of preventing a blind reaction from bringing present injury and future peril on the restoration of a regular Government. Everything which prevents other Powers, animated by less moderate sentiments, from prosecuting an intended intervention, will leave larger scope for our direct and peculiar influence, and tend, as a natural result, to the further carrying out of the object I have mentioned. You will, then, whilst using all diligence to attain this termination as quickly as possible, endeavour to steer clear of two difficulties which will lie in your path. It is necessary, in the first place, that you should abstain from everything which may justify the persons, who now hold the reins of Government in the Roman States, in believing, or causing to be believed, that we consider theirs a regular Government, which would give them a moral power that they do not at present possess. Secondly, in the arrangements which you may have to make with them you will avoid every stipulation, every expression, calculated to arouse the susceptibilities of the Holy See, and of those now assembled at Gaeta, who are but too much inclined to think that we are disposed to hold very cheap the authority and the interests of the Roman Court. In the country to which you are going, and with the persons with whom you will have to deal, the manner is not less important than the matter. These are the only instructions I can give you at present. To render them more precise and particular, it would be necessary to have

information which we do not yet possess as to what has taken place in the Roman States within the last few days. Your correct and enlightened judgment will guide you according to circumstances. You will also communicate with Messrs. d'Harcourt and de Rayneval respecting everything of importance, or which does not require an immediate decision. It is unnecessary for me to recommend you to be on terms of intimacy and confidence with General Oudinot, this being absolutely essential to the success of the enterprise which both of you must have at heart."

M. Barrot, President of the Council, exhorted the Envoy to use all the means in his power to bring about the object aimed at by the Assembly and the Government, which, whilst they were far from wishing to restore *impossible abuses*, desired to have *solid and real guarantees for the liberty of the Roman States*. And the President of the Republic declared he had, beyond everything, at heart, that the French troops should, *at all costs*, avoid *common action with the Austrians and Neapolitans*.

Lesseps having taken his departure, and accusations against the Government still continuing in Parliament, Barrot replied to them as follows:—

"I assure you, that as long as I shall hold in my hands any portion of power in this country, the arms of France shall never be employed in restoring impossible abuses. In order to ascertain the true state of the case from the testimony of impartial witnesses, and in order to convey to the French camp a faithful and exact expression of the feelings of the Assembly and of the Government, with respect to the object which the French expedition ought to pursue, in spite of all obstacles, until it succeeds, we have sent thither an Envoy who possesses all our confidence, whom you have seen tried in

several serious conjunctures, who has always served the cause of liberty and humanity. If you wish to know his name, it is M. Lesseps. He has taken his departure with the express recommendation to put himself immediately into communication with the Government, to keep us informed from day to day of all the events which may happen, and with strict orders to use every possible exertion so that real and solid guarantees for the liberty of the Roman States may result from our intervention."

When it was reported soon afterwards at Paris that the Court of Gaeta had sent Monsignor Valentini as Pontifical Commissioner to Cività Vecchia, and that General Oudinot had prevented him from assuming authority, the Minister for Foreign Affairs requested M. Lesseps, on the 10th of May, to act in the same way in all similar conjunctures, and having commended the General, sent him the following dispatch :—

"Let it be made known to the Romans that we will not unite ourselves with the Neapolitans against them; continue the negotiations in the sense of your declarations. Reinforcements are being sent to you. Wait. Endeavour to enter Rome on good terms with the inhabitants; if ever you should be forced to attack, do it only with the most certain probability of success."

The General had secretly communicated to the officers under his command the order he had received to prevent the Neapolitans and Austrians from entering on the territory occupied by the French, but at the same time, having transferred his quarters to Villa Santucci, he moved the troops with the heavy artillery towards Rome, and made an incursion towards the Villa Panfili. The President of the Republic, having written to him to say that he would not suffer a blow

to be aimed at the military honour of France, that he would restore the reputation and reinforce the strength of the camp, and that he wished the soldiers to be cheered with the assurance of his gratitude, the General thus replied:—

"M. President,

"I have just received the letter which you have done me the honour to write, and I will take care to make its contents known to the army, which will find in it a just and precious recompense for its fidelity, its discipline, and its courage.

"The French army is at the gates of Rome, and, great as is the circuit of the city, it is entirely *invested*. Our guns will soon be ready to commence the attack. Masters of the Higher and Lower Tiber; commanding the road to Florence, we have intercepted all communication, and have secured complete liberty of action. From this day the absolute submission of the party which governs Rome will be *infallibly* secured if the *Moniteur* of the 8th does not contain anything to revive sinister hopes. But, come what may, France will soon be the arbiter of the destinies of Central Italy, and your Government will very soon reap the fruits of the vigorous and generous policy it has endeavoured to pursue, and which you advocate."

Thus the French General continued to feed himself and his Government with false hopes, assuming that he had forces and preparations sufficient for forcing an entry into Rome. But at this juncture M. Lesseps arrived at the camp, and delivering his commission to the General, persuaded him to give orders to the troops to abstain from the attack which he had intended to commence.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEAPOLITAN ARMY.—GARIBALDI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.—SKIRMISH AT PALESTRINA.—HOPES OF ROME.—OBSERVATIONS.—FIRST COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN M. LESSEPS AND THE TRIUMVIRS.—TEXT OF A LETTER FROM HIM TO GENERAL OUDINOT.—TEXT OF A NOTE FROM MAZZINI TO M. LESSEPS.—NOMINATION OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ASSEMBLY TO NEGOTIATE TERMS.—TRUCE.—MARCH OF THE ROMAN ARMY AGAINST THE NEAPOLITANS.—THE ROYAL CAMP.—RETREAT OF THE KING OF NAPLES IN THE DIRECTION OF HIS KINGDOM.—ARBITRARY CONDUCT OF GARIBALDI.—SKIRMISH AT VELLETRI.—OPINIONS OF ROSELLI AND GARIBALDI.—INVASION OF THE KINGDOM.—ARCE.—RETREAT OF GARIBALDI UPON ROME.—GAETA.—OBSERVATIONS.—PROJECTS OF THE COURT.—ADVICE OF THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.—OBSERVATIONS.

THE Neapolitan army, consisting of 16,000 men, was posted between Albano and Frascati, and was commanded by the King, who had his head-quarters at Albano, with two Swiss regiments, three regiments of Cavalry, and a good deal of Artillery. His entry into the Roman States was not signalised by a battle, or by any noble deeds, but by numerous arrests of republican magistrates, of peaceful travellers, and of honest citizens, whom he threw into filthy prisons, where they were associated with thieves and vagabonds. The uncertain projects of France, who, disdaining his alliance, promised liberty to the people, disturbed him greatly, and Garibaldi, who was roaming all over the country, would not allow the courtiers and prelates that swarmed

in the royal camp, to enjoy a night's repose. Such accounts of the diabolical disposition of the leader and his followers had been spread about Gaeta, that the Neapolitan soldiers had got their heads filled with them, and perhaps trusted more in the virtue of their amulets, than in the strength of their arms, to fight the Garibaldians. These men had, in truth, strange and singular manners; their chiefs were dressed in scarlet, without any ornaments, and without any mark of rank; they wore hats of every fashion and of every colour; they rushed hither and thither; they dispersed; they threw themselves wherever the peril was greatest. During their moments of repose, they left their horses at liberty, or mounted them without saddle or bridle, and scoured the country in quest of cattle; then they returned with their booty, and distributed it amongst the soldiers; they helped in dressing it, and afterwards shared in the frugal repast. Garibaldi, who in his countenance and bearing, gave one the idea of the head of an Indian tribe, when danger was distant, either reposed under his tent, or, from the summit of a hill, reconnoitred the ground, or went about in disguise, and quite alone, to explore it. When the trumpet sounded for battle, he was everywhere, giving orders, encouraging his men, and fighting. His legion was composed of young men, spurred on by enthusiasm; of old soldiers, trusting in their bold chief; and of rascals, who were in eager search of booty, not of glory. The officers, selected from amongst the most courageous soldiers, were sometimes raised at once to the highest grades, and then thrown back again amongst

the common file. There was neither discipline nor order: audacity and fortune governed all.

Having come out against the Neapolitans, they were at Palestrina by the 7th of May, and from that place Garibaldi sent a few soldiers, the day after, to harass such of the enemy as were scattered about in the villages. Accordingly they went, put them to flight, and took some prisoners. On the 9th, two regiments of infantry, belonging to the royal guard, and one division of cavalry, having moved against Palestrina, Garibaldi sent out only four companies to meet them, drawing up the remainder of his people near the gates of the city. After a skirmish, which lasted three hours, the Neapolitans, having lost about a hundred men, took flight, and retreated to their encampment. The prisoners, on being brought before Garibaldi, thinking of nothing but how to appease the monster whom they fancied was so terrible, cried out for mercy, cursing Pius IX. in their dialect. The Romans had only had twelve killed and twenty wounded; so that they might, with undiminished force and courage, have continued to molest the enemy; but Garibaldi, being aware of the movements of the French towards Rome, raised his camp, and passing within two miles of that of the Neapolitans, marched twenty-eight miles in one night, and on the morning of the 12th re-entered the capital.

Accursi, who had arrived at Rome some hours before Lesseps, had given reason to hope that France would incline to kindly terms, and that her Envoy was anxious to propose them. Accordingly, when M. Lesseps reached the capital on the 15th of May, and declared

that his Government had desired General Oudinot to notify to the Romans, that the French troops would make no league with the Neapolitans, the city was encouraged to hope for still more, and some began to promise themselves the re-establishment of the Republic and all kinds of benefits from those very French, who, but a few days previously, had attacked the city with arms in their hands. But thus it will always be; if France smiles, Italy opens to her both her heart and her arms, because Italy has ever been, and will ever be, bewitched by France. Neither former nor recent perfidy has cured her. On the contrary, there is a certain party that never will be cured, but will always be the cause of fresh disasters, because, impelled by the same feelings which fill the breasts of the French, they aim at an universal equality of social rights and privileges, rather than at the liberty of the citizen in the State, and of the nation in the fellowship of Europe. In the midst of noisy boastings about liberty and nationality, they subject the citizen to the autocracy of the State, and the nation to the phantasm of a universal political fraternity, which, in practice, resolves itself into the spurious brotherhood of clubs of refugees from every country in Europe, who found their opinions and their practice on the factions of France, which stand highest in the annals of modern revolutions. Thus these jugglers make Italy the slave of all the quackeries of France; and some pretend (may God pardon them!) that it is only by the Jacobite prætorians she can be saved.

M. Lesseps being admitted to an interview with the

Triumvirs, informed them that he was deputed to inquire into the truth, with regard to the opinions and desires of the Romans, and that he was to use all care to prevent a deplorable struggle between the two Republics. He begged that the rulers of Rome would also study the most suitable means for bringing about such a result, taking into consideration the dignity of France, and the honour due to her arms. The Triumvirs answered, that nothing, after the liberty of their own country, was dearer to them, and more desired, than the friendship of the French nation; they received, therefore, with pleasure the statement of her Envoy, who, wise and noble-minded as he was, would understand both the right which the Romans had to preserve that form of free government, of which France had given the example, and also the universal hatred of clerical dominion. A discussion then followed, as to the method of conducting the negotiations connected with the contemplated arrangement, and it was resolved, that first of all they should endeavour to establish a truce between the two armies; after which, the Assembly should nominate Commissioners, to go to General Oudinot as Envoys, accompanied by M. Lesseps, who, in the meantime wrote to him as follows:—

"Amidst the uncertainty in which we are placed, it appears to me most important that we should avoid every species of encounter. I see a whole city in arms. Even at the first glance, it seems to me that I behold a people resolved to make resistance, and, neglecting exaggerated estimates, I believe there are at least 25,000 real combatants in Rome. If ever we should enter the city by force, we shall not only have to pass over the

bodies of some foreign adventurers, but we shall leave on the ground citizens and tradesmen, and youths of the middle classes; in fact, all those who in Paris are accustomed to defend the cause of order and of society. It is therefore necessary to keep these circumstances in mind, and not to proceed rashly, or bring our Government into a situation which it has shown to be contrary to the principle of the expedition, and which it has again declared publicly to be utterly contrary to the will of the Assembly."

The next day, after having requested Mazzini to give him some particular information on the present state of the Republic, M. Lesseps went to the camp, to discuss with the General the proposals which were to be made, and the truce which was a necessary preliminary to the negotiations.

Mazzini's note was as follows:—

"Sir,—You request me to give you an account of the present state of the Roman Republic, and I will furnish it with the same frankness which, for twenty years past, has been the invariable rule of my policy. We have nothing to hide, nothing to veil. We have, of late, been strangely calumniated by Europe, but we have always said to those by whom we have been calumniated, Come and see. You, Sir, are here to ascertain the truth of the accusation. Do it. You may fulfil your office in full and entire liberty. We have joyfully welcomed your embassy, because it is our own guarantee.

"France will certainly not deny us the right of governing ourselves as we may deem best; the right of drawing, so to speak, from the inmost vitals of our country the idea which is its life, and on it to found our institutions. France cannot but say to us, *Recognising your independence, I wish to recognise the free and spontaneous wish of the majority. Allied to the European powers, and anxious for peace, if it were true that a minority amongst you had overridden the national will; if it were true that the actual form of your Government were only*

the capricious idea of a faction, put forward as the common thought, I should not be able to witness with indifference the peace of Europe continually endangered by the disturbances and the anarchy which must necessarily distinguish the reign of a faction.

"We, Sir, recognise this right as regards France, because we believe in the solidarity of nations for the general good; but we affirm, that if ever there was a Government established on the suffrages of the majority, and supported by them, that Government is ours.

"The Republic has struck root amongst us by the will of an Assembly created by universal suffrage; it has been everywhere received with enthusiasm: it has not met with opposition anywhere. And note well, Sir, that never was opposition so easy, so void of danger—I might add, so much provoked—not only by the acts, but also by the exceptional, unfavourable circumstances, in which the Republic was placed at its origin.

"Our country was but just issuing from the long anarchy of powers inherent in the inward organism of the late Government.

"The agitations inseparable from every great revolution, and fomented at the same time by the critical state of the Italian question, and by the efforts of the retrograde party, had thrown it into a state of feverish excitement, which laid it open to every bold attempt, and to every stimulus which might be offered to the interests and the passions. We had no army, no power of repression; our finances were impoverished and exhausted by previous extravagance; the religious question, urged by able and interested persons, might have naturally been made a pretext, in the midst of a population endowed with noble instincts and inspirations, but of little cultivation.

"Yet scarcely was the Republican principle declared, when an incontestable fact was made manifest, *i.e.* Order. The history of the Papal Government is made up of disturbances; not one disturbance has taken place during the Republic. The assassination of Signor Rossi, a deplorable but solitary fact, an individual

crime condemned by all; provoked, perhaps, by imprudent behaviour: this assassination, the origin of which remains unknown, was followed by the most perfect order. The financial crisis reached its height; there was an instant in which the paper of the Republic, in consequence of unworthy tricks, could not be discounted, except at forty-one or forty-two per cent. The attitude assumed by the Italian and European Governments became more and more hostile. The people supported everything with calmness, both material difficulties and political isolation; they had faith in the future which would arise out of the new principle that had been proclaimed. On account of dark menaces, and particularly on account of their want of experience in political life, a certain number of electors did not record their votes at the elections for the Assembly, and this fact seemed to weaken the expression of the general will. A second striking and vital fact occurred to give an incontestable answer to the doubts which might have prevailed. Shortly before the election of the Triumvirs, the re-election of the municipal bodies took place. Every one recorded his vote. Everywhere, and at all times, the municipal element has represented the conservative element of the State. For an instant it was feared, that amongst us it would represent the retrograde element. Well, the hurricane burst forth, the intervention commenced: it was said that the Republic had only a few days to live, and yet that was the very moment selected for an act of spontaneous adhesion to the chosen form of government; and during the first fortnight of this month the addresses of the whole of the Municipalities, with the exception of one or two, were united with the addresses sent in by the Clubs and the officers commanding the National Guard. I have the honour, Sir, to send you the list of them. They all express implicit faith in the Republic, and a profound conviction that the two powers, united under one head, are incompatible. This constitutes, I repeat, a decisive fact. It is a second legal proof which confirms the first in the manner the most absolute, by which our right can be rendered valid.

"To-day, in the very midst of the crisis, in spite of the

French, Austrian, Spanish, and Neapolitan invasion, our finances are recovering, our credit is repaired, our notes are discounted at twelve per cent., our army augments every day, and the people are ready to rise in its aid. You behold Rome, Sir, and you are acquainted with the heroic struggle which Bologna is sustaining. I write these things to you at night, in the midst of the most profound calm. The garrison left the city yesterday; and, previous to the arrival of fresh troops, our gates, our walls, and our barricades, by orders passed from mouth to mouth, were guarded, in the middle of the night, without noise, without boasting, by the armed people.

"At the bottom of the hearts of this people there rests a firm determination—the end of the temporal dominion of the Pope, and hatred to the government of the clergy, under however reformed or disguised a shape it may present itself. I say hatred, not of the men, but of the government. Towards individuals our people, thanks to God, since the foundation of the Republic, have always shown themselves generous; but the bare idea of the clerical government of the Sovereign Pontiff puts them in a rage. They will fight resolutely against every attempt at restoration; they will throw themselves into heresy sooner than submit to it.

"When these two questions were discussed before the Assembly, some timid Deputies were of opinion that the Republican form was immature, and perilous in the present political state of Europe, but nevertheless not one voted against the separation. Both sides of the House were unanimous. With one voice they cried out, the temporal power of the Pope is for ever destroyed.

"What is to be done with such a people as this? Is there a free Government which can arrogate to itself without crime and contradiction, the right of imposing on it a return to the past?

"A return to the past, let us remember well, Sir, is a return to organised disorder; it is the recommencement of the strifes of secret societies; it is anarchy thrown into the bosom of

Italy; reaction, vengeance, inoculated into the hearts of a people which asks nothing else but that it may be able to forget; it is a germ of permanent war in the heart of Europe; it is the programme of extreme parties, in place of the government of Republican order, of which we are the ministers.

"This cannot be desired by France, by its Government, by a nephew of Napoleon. No! Not, above all, in presence of the double invasion of the Austrians and Neapolitans. Such a project would resemble the opprobrious league of 1772 against Poland. Moreover, it would be impossible to reduce it to practice, for, only upon heaps of corpses, and on the ruins of our city, could the banner be raised which has fallen by the will of the people.

"I shall have the honour, Sir, to offer you to-morrow, or the day after, some further observations on this subject."

On his return to Rome, M. Lesseps sent a copy of this document to his Government, and spoke so as to imply that he had hopes of bringing to a favourable conclusion the mission with which he had been entrusted. A gleam of hope had also entered into the breasts of the Triumvirs, for on the 16th of May they wrote to the Assembly that they considered it would be judicious to keep secret the primary negotiations, and that they would give an account of the final results, *which were becoming more and more probable.* The day after they proposed, in accordance with the wish of the French Envoy, that three Commissioners should be selected; and the motion having passed, Sturbinetti and Audinot were nominated, together with Agostini, instead of Cernuschi, who would not accept the office. The commission was then given them to go to Lesseps; to endeavour to bring him round to an opinion favourable to the Republic; to hear his proposals, and

to inform the Assembly accordingly. In the meantime the truce being agreed upon, the Triumvirs, on the 17th of May, published this manifesto:—

"In the name of God and the People.

"Hostilities are suspended between the Roman Republic and France."

Roselli, who had arrived at Rome about this time, and had been raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief, thought he ought to profit by the truce with the French to go out against the Neapolitans and force the King to give battle. The Government willingly granted him permission, and on the evening of the 16-17th May, the Roman army, about 10,000 to 12,000 strong, marched out of the Porta San Giovanni in Laterano, amidst the rejoicings of the people. The same day news arrived at Albano of the negotiations with Lesseps, of the truce, and of the fresh instructions of the French Government, which produced great disquiet in the royal camp. The prelates assembled there began to cry out against the treachery of France, and to counsel the King to consult his own safety, setting the example themselves in all haste. The Pope also wrote from Gaeta, exhorting him to return to his kingdom; therefore, abandoning Albano, he led the army to Ariccia on the evening of the 17th, and the day after to Velletri. The same day the Romans were at Val Montone with the main body of their troops, and the advanced guard was six miles further on at Monte Fortino, nine miles from Velletri. Roselli had planned the order of battle, when Garibaldi, who had command of the centre, left his post, and

taking upon himself the command of the advanced guard, led it against Velletri, proceeding with only 2000 men to within a mile of the city, though Roselli had ordered him not to advance. The Neapolitans attacked him with such a superior force that Garibaldi ran great risk of his life, and his troops were exposed to extreme peril; but audacity and valour made up for numbers, and the Romans having repulsed the enemy's cavalry, drove back the infantry into the town. Roselli having hastened thither with the main body of his troops, ordered the assault for the following morning, but the King abandoned the place in the night, withdrawing his forces in such haste that great confusion and excitement ensued. The skirmish hardly cost both sides a hundred men; but as Velletri remained in possession of the Romans, and as the King, taking counsel from the clergy and from fear, rather than from military honour, turned his back upon the place, the Republicans proclaimed it as a signal victory, and lauded the name of Garibaldi to the stars, though in fact he was worthy of reprehension for taking on himself the command, thereby rendering the Commander-in-Chief liable to blame for the peril he had incurred, and the safe retreat of the enemy, and lessening at the same time the already impaired discipline of the army.

Things being in this state, Roselli was inclined to return immediately to Rome to make such preparations for the defence as would be requisite, if the negotiations, at present pending with the French, did not terminate favourably; and if on that side the Republic

should find it had nothing to fear, then to make preparations for marching against the Austrians, who, to the number of 7000 men, were advancing from Tuscany upon Umbria. He thought he should be able to beat them by taking 13,000 or 14,000 men towards Cortona, and then turning himself against the body which was invading the marches of Ancona. But Garibaldi was of opinion that instead of this he ought to invade the kingdom of Naples, and as of all who fought for the Republic he had the highest reputation amongst the volunteers in the army, and the insurgents in the city, he managed entirely to overset the plans of the Commander-in-Chief, who, although he had written to the Triumvirs that he could not acquiesce in the project of invading the kingdom of Naples, received orders to entrust the command of 6000 men to Garibaldi, who would undertake the expedition, whilst he returned with the rest of his troops to Rome—a resolution void of all judgment, because it left neither the one commander nor the other sufficient forces to attempt battles of any consequence.

Having overrun the province of Frosinone and dispersed the few troops which, hastily drawn together, had advanced under the Pontifical banner from Benevento, Garibaldi entered the kingdom of Naples, and on the 26th of the month reached Arce, which the Neapolitan garrison had abandoned after a short resistance, retreating to San Germano, where General Nunziante was stationed with two Swiss regiments. The inhabitants, who, at first, had retreated to the mountains, fearful of the violence of the Republican chief,

as soon as they discovered that his people occupied the country quietly, and without doing it any injury, came down again joyfully and with confidence. It is said that Garibaldi wished to attempt San Germano, and to prosecute the enterprise of agitating the kingdom, but that he received orders to return to Rome, as the negotiations with the French had not led to the conclusion anticipated.

Meanwhile, discussions were going on at Gaeta, not on the rights of the Catholic pontificate, on which the Church of Christ is founded everlastingly, but on those of the mutable and decaying temporal dominion, and not so much on the rights of the Catholic clergy, as on those of the municipal caste which governs the State under the form of a bastard oligarchy. Whoever, during that time, visited Gaeta through curiosity, or, in his wish to bring about an accommodation mingled in their councils, heard sentiments expressed which placed on the same level the eternal kingdom of love and the transitory kingdom of the sword, as if the union of the two powers were a dogmatic corollary of the Apostles' Creed. Certain doctors, also, not only converted the temporal dominion into a dogma, but even made one of the pure restoration of the ancient institutions, so that to speak of accommodations argued a want of Catholic faith. Ranged in face of the idea which fixes itself on this rock, stand the greatest questions of universal civilisation, of European order, and of the universal religious organisation, which are all identified with the controversy under discussion. Posterity will see what a die was cast in Rome by the Mazzi-

nians, in Gaeta by the clergy, in Europe by the leaders of the Crusade. All of them rash, they all failed, both conquerors and conquered, but they all left traces of ideas and of passions which are fermenting deeply in the breast of Italy, and of Europe, nay, of all Christendom.

The counsels of Gaeta were confessedly opposed to the restitution of the public liberties. The dogmatic necessity of a temporal power being settled, the European ambassadors began immediately to fall in with all the desires of the Court. In vain had the Duke d'Harcourt and M. de Rayneval himself, who was no very warm defender of liberal institutions, signed a requisition, or protest as they are pleased to call it, on the 1st of May, for the maintenance of the constitutional Statute. The Court, which had a faithful protector in the Parisian Ministry, efficient advocates in the French Parliament, and most zealous emissaries throughout all France, persuaded itself that they would be able to recover for it entirely its power and authority. Esterhazy, Bontenieff, and the King of Naples, encouraged Cardinal Antonelli to dismiss all French and liberal tendencies, and Martinez de la Rosa and the Duke de Rivas embraced the opinions of the illiberal party to such a degree, that if any one ventured to adduce the example of Spain, and the testimony of their own lives and deeds, they were accustomed to make excuses, affirming, that in the principality of the Pope, and amongst the Roman people, liberal institutions could never flourish. The Austrian Ambassador, conscious of the hatred with which the domination of the clergy was

regarded by cultivated and liberal minds, did not so much fear French influence, as he rejoiced that France, moved by a real or pretended desire of checking Austria, should have taken the principal part in the enterprise. It was his conviction, that she would not reap as much honour and advantage from attempting, as shame and discredit from accomplishing it. When, therefore, the Courts of Gaeta and Naples saw with alarm, that General Oudinot was flattering the people, and had dismissed the Pontifical Commissioners, that Lesseps was attempting to negotiate with the Triumvirs, and condemning the alliance with Naples, the Austrian Ambassador assiduously endeavoured to soothe the Gaetan apprehensions, by showing that it would be wise not to irritate French anger by noisy complaints, but to take advantage of the resentment which the defeat of the 30th of April had excited among men in whom military honour and national vain glory were paramount. He and the Russian Ambassador were of opinion, that although France had made a descent into Italy with intentions contrary to the wishes of the Court at Gaeta, bringing perturbation into the mind of the Pope, and trouble upon the Court, yet that the Pontiff, the Court, and the persons assembled at Gaeta, should endeavour to bend her to their will by stimulating her self-esteem, and spurring her on so far that she would not be able to draw back. The Duke d'Harcourt, who was a man of easy disposition and great frankness, though he did not wish that the arms of France should be made a stepping-stone for the restoration of the mal-government of the clergy, who he was persuaded

would not maintain the Statute, not only hastened the movement on Rome before the 30th of April, but afterwards was more anxious to triumph over republican than clerical obstinacy, thus seconding, unconsciously, the designs of his rivals. He was told by some, that if the French were to enter Rome without having obtained any guarantee from the Pope for liberal institutions, they would not be able to obtain them afterwards; that it would be much less difficult to batter down the walls of Rome, than to conquer the resistance of the clergy; that the Republic once dead, the Pope would not accept any conditions; the French would restore the domination of the clergy, with all its ancient vices, and that afterwards they would have to maintain with their arms the Government which their arms had restored, thus exciting against France the popular hatred which was the unenviable inheritance of Austria. M. d'Harcourt appeared to be convinced by these representations, but in the midst of the confusion which prevailed at Gaeta, and the impatience of the military chiefs, he could not take a straightforward course. He had wished the Constitutional party to bestir itself to aid the negotiations set on foot by his Government, and did not take into account that that party could not bestir itself, since the Prince had torn the Statute to pieces. The Ministers of the French Republic also, with the exception of those who had a common understanding with the Court at Gaeta, would have wished to restore the Statute, but having uppermost in their minds the speedy occupation of Rome, they did not perceive, that by entering it without any

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guarantee, they closed the door against all hope of accomplishing the undertaking according to their wishes; that the Rome which the French would have to take in order to restore the Constitutional power was not seated on the seven hills, but on the rock of Gaeta; and that by establishing themselves at Cività Vecchia, extending their army as much as possible through the State, and preventing the Austrians and Neapolitans from besieging the capital, they would have besieged Gaeta and the Republic—the one would have been destroyed by fatigue and disorder, and other would have come to terms through necessity. But the French wanted to proceed too fast; military vain glory tempted them on; vanity governed them; and the Catholic party incited them to conquer in battle, and to lose in sagacity and reputation.

CHAPTER VI.

ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION FIRST PROJECTED BY LESSEPS AND OUDINOT.—SCHEME DRAWN UP AFTERWARDS.—SPEECHES AND HOPES OF LESSEPS.—REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.—ANSWER OF THE ENVOY.—DISCUSSIONS.—OBSERVATIONS.—SECRET SITTING OF THE ASSEMBLY.—RESOLUTION.—LETTER OF THE TRIUMVIRS.—DEMONSTRATIONS AND OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY.—ADVICE OF GENERAL OUDINOT.—NEGOTIATION OF THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—TEXT OF THE PROTEST SIGNED BY LESSEPS AND OUDINOT.—LETTER FROM LESSEPS TO THE TRIUMVIRS.—OBSTINACY OF MAZZINI.—OBSERVATIONS.—ANSWER OF MAZZINI TO LESSEPS.—DESPATCH FROM LESSEPS TO HIS GOVERNMENT.—HIS ANXIETY.—HIS LETTER TO THE ASSEMBLY.—HIS MANIFESTO TO THE FRENCH.—HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE CAMP.—LETTER TO PARIS.—OBSERVATIONS.

M. LESSEPS and General Oudinot had drawn up a scheme, according to the terms of which the French army was to be received into Rome, the Triumvirs were to resign office, and a temporary magistracy, elected by the Assembly, was to assume supreme authority until the population should decide by a fresh vote on the form of government, and on the guarantees to be given to the Church and the Papacy. But when the Envoy by conversing with the Triumvirs and the persons of most reputation amongst the Republicans, had become acquainted with the feeling of the Assembly and the city, he perceived that it would be necessary to change

his tone, and on his return to the camp in order to communicate his views to the General, he compiled a new scheme in which the Roman States were to ask the *fraternal protection* of the French Republic; the people were to have the right to *pronounce freely on the form of government;* Rome was to receive the French troops as friends; the French and Roman troops were to *perform conjointly the service of the city;* and the Roman authorities were to confine themselves, *according to their legal attributes*, within their proper functions. Animated by a desire to gratify the public, M. Lesseps went about affirming that Paris was ill-acquainted with the state of Rome; that the Government had been led into error by its ambassadors, but that he would represent matters in their true light; he would say that, taking into account the events which are the natural result of revolutions, the Roman Government was proceeding legally; he would say that if love of the Republic was not universal, hatred of priestly domination was, and he would use such diligence that in a very short time honour should result to France, Rome should have satisfaction, and the clergy should receive correction. The Commissioners of the Assembly then went to him to execute their commission, and having emphatically urged him, with all the best arguments they could think of, to defend the Republic from false accusations, they pressed him in the first place to recognise it, as the phrase is, in the name of France, as otherwise Rome could not open her gates to the army which every one believed had been sent to reinstate the Pope on his throne. But

the Envoy, who had been charged not to consent to any terms which would establish the Republic, confined himself to generals, endeavouring to convince the Commissioners of the favourable nature of the articles which he had recommended.

"I am guarantee for the protection of France," he said, "only let Rome trust to France and to me. I guarantee the right of the people to establish a form of government, and if, through regard for the peace of Europe, France cannot at once sanction the result to which the first elections have led, she will certainly ratify a fresh declaration; and as by your own testimony the people are firm in their attachment to the Republic, and their aversion to the rule of the clergy, you are certain to have your earnest desires of securing a popular Government entirely satisfied. But how can France take upon herself the office of protecting you from the violence of Austria and Naples, and from priestly treachery, if you do not give her any tokens of friendship, but on the contrary show signs of distrust towards her, by closing the gates of Rome against her soldiers? And shall the honour of the French arms be tarnished; and can you believe that so proud a nation will suffer it patiently; or that your enemies, of whom you have many and powerful ones amongst us, will not take occasion thence to excite the public mind? And do you imagine the army and its General will submit to so great humiliation; that the French Ambassadors, who hitherto have laboured in this affair with so little advantage to you, will not exert themselves to frustrate my endeavours to produce concord? By the love which you bear to your country, by your hatred of slavery, by the faith which you have in liberty, I entreat you to accept the articles which I now lay before you."

The Commissioners answered that they had no power to proceed to stipulations, but only the mission to inquire into the intentions of the Envoy deputed to bring the French expedition back to its first principles,

to make themselves acquainted with his ideas and proposals, and to inform the Assembly accordingly; and they concluded by again urging that he should recognise the Government with which he had commenced negotiations, and with which he desired to frame a convention. M. Lesseps did not omit to warn them of the peril which they ran by delaying to accede to the terms which had been proposed, and took leave of them, earnestly entreating that they would summon the Assembly instantly, that it might decide on the matter at once. But he had undertaken very unwisely to treat with the Parliament, seeing there is no office for which such bodies are so little suited as the dispatch of business in which judgment is required, not only to moderate, but to correct and even curb the passions. Moreover, to allow so short a time for a very serious discussion, when such haste is not required by imperious causes (and such were neither then nor afterwards apparent), was a piece of French impetuosity ill-calculated to obtain results which time only can mature.

The discussions in the French Parliament had flattered the vanity of those who ruled over the Roman Assembly, so that now they considered themselves not only first-rate manufacturers of popular commotions, but also masters in the art of diplomacy, and pre-eminent in that tact and penetration on which the rulers of States pride themselves, and of which they have given such striking examples. Add to this, that the election of deputies for the Constitutional Parliament in France was just then taking place; that it appeared to such as were not very far-sighted that the

extreme party amongst the Republicans and the economical party were likely to prevail; and that Mazzini, who applied to the government of the State the same principles by which he was accustomed to govern his own party, showed letters that announced and promised marvels. For these reasons when the Deputies were summoned to attend a secret sitting on the 19th of May, and had heard the report of the Commissioners, it was easy for the Triumvirs and the orators of their party to influence their minds, by saying that the proposals made by the Envoy were tantamount to the promises contained in that manifesto issued by General Oudinot, which he had himself cancelled by another manifesto containing ambiguities instead of clear conditions, and danger, not safety, for Rome, on which the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"The Assembly, regretting that it cannot receive the draught of a convention submitted by the Envoy Extraordinary of the French Government, confides to the Triumvirs the office of explaining its motives, and of adopting such measures as will most conduce to establish the best understanding between the two Republics."

The same day the Triumvirs made M. Lesseps acquainted with the resolution in the following letter:—

"We have the honour to send you the resolution of the Assembly relative to the proposals which you have communicated to its Commissioners. It has charged us to signify to you, at the same time, the motives of its unanimous vote, and the regret it feels for the painful necessity in which it finds itself placed. We also fulfil this charge with profound

sorrow, as beseems men who love France, and who confide in her still.

"When, after the decision of the French Assembly, we heard of your arrival, our hearts palpitated with joy. We believed that a reconciliation, founded on the one great principle proclaimed by you and by us, would ensue between two nations to whom their common sympathies, common memories, common interests, and political condition, enjoin esteem and love. We thought that being deputed to ascertain the true state of affairs, and being persuaded of the perfect harmony which here unites together in one single idea all the elements of the State, you would, by the information you would be able to supply, have destroyed the only possible obstacle to the fulfilment of our wishes, the solitary doubt that might still prevent France from fulfilling the noble idea contained in the resolution of your Assembly.

"The union, the internal peace, the mature resolution, the noble conduct, the spontaneous and solemn vote of the municipalities, of the National Guard, of the troops, of the people, of the Government, and of the sovereign Assembly, all these things are known to you. You have made them known to France, sir, and therefore we had a right to hope that, speaking in the name of France, you would have made use of words more reassuring than those which we find in your proposals.

"The Assembly has remarked the care with which the phrase *Roman Republic* has been studiously avoided in your first article, and it considers that in that circumstance is contained an unfavourable intention. It is of opinion, sir, that with the exception of the greater importance which your name and your office give to this proposal, it does not contain any stronger guarantees than those which, prior to the 30th of April, General Oudinot had offered by any act of his. Having ascertained the unanimous opinion of the people, the Assembly has not been able to account for the persistence with which you would throw distrust on that opinion, by occupying Rome. Rome does not need protection. No con-

test is going on; and if an enemy were to appear before her walls, she would be able to resist with her own forces. On the frontiers of Tuscany, at Bologna, protection can be given to Rome. Moreover, in your third article, the Assembly has been constrained to perceive the influence of a political bias, about which it can the less tranquillise itself, since the decree of the French National Assembly seemed to be decidedly adverse to an occupation of Rome, unprovoked and uncalled for by circumstances.

"We will not conceal from you, sir, that by an unfortunate coincidence a report has reached us with regard to the lines of defence, which has assisted not a little to confirm the resolution taken by the Assembly. This very day, a band of French soldiers, contrary to the spirit of the truce, has crossed the Tiber, near San Paolo, drawing still closer than before the cordon of military operations round the capital; and this act, sir, is not the only one. The suspicions of the people, already excited by the bare idea of seeing their city—their Palladium City—the Eternal City—occupied by foreign troops, have been strengthened, and this will render difficult, impossible, perhaps, any discussion on an article to which, on the other hand, the Assembly adheres as the vital guarantee of its dignity and independence. For these reasons, and many others, the Assembly has resolved, though most unwillingly, that your proposal cannot be accepted. We shall have the honour, sir, to remit to you to-morrow morning, according to the wishes expressed by the Assembly itself, a proposal, not certainly on a par with its legitimate hopes, but one that will at least have the advantage of removing all risks of a conflict between two Republics, based on the same rights, and closely united by the same hopes."

The demonstrations which the French army had made in the neighbourhood of Rome were, to say the truth, little adapted to second the benevolent expressions made use of by M. Lesseps. One day, some officials, who were carrying letters by the post, were

prevented from proceeding; and on another occasion, General Oudinot ordered his soldiers to cross the Tiber unexpectedly, his scouts went close up to the walls, and works continued to go on actively in the camp, exactly as though war were raging. Nor did the expressions employed by the Secretaries of the Embassy, and by the Directors of the French Academy at Rome, harmonise with those of the Envoy; for these men, with great imprudence, had mixed themselves up with the affair, and bruited it about that the Roman Republic was condemned to death, and that French soldiers would soon occupy the capital. General Oudinot, who was eager to retrieve what he had lost by his discomfiture on the 30th of April, murmured in his turn against the yielding disposition of M. Lesseps; and, as he was desirous of pleasing the Catholic party, he had on his side all those who were anxious to place France in a position to complete an illiberal undertaking. "So much delay," he wrote, "increases the pride of the Romans and displeases the soldiers: let us have either peace or war; if peace, let them open to us the gates of Rome; if war, our tactics and our valour will quickly triumph: let them send a speedy and decisive answer." In other letters he said, the dignity of France and the honour of the troops had been tarnished; M. Lesseps ought no longer to fetter the army, which was eager for glory; he might see clearly that all hopes of concord were vain; he ought to let him state plainly to the Romans that the truce was at an end, since they had not accepted his propositions.

Mazzini, also, was more anxious for the supremacy

of his own party than inclined to accommodations, and therefore he did not keep his promise of sending new articles to M. Lesseps, but communicated with Mr. Cass, the Ambassador for the United States of America, requesting him to sound General Oudinot, and endeavour to gain over the soldier to those stipulations which the Envoy would not approve. The Prince of Canino having taken part in this scheme, the American repaired to the camp, and, signifying to the General his desire to give his assistance in framing an agreement, proposed articles which stipulated that the Roman Republic, accepting the decision of the French Assembly, which had sent troops into Italy to prevent foreign intervention, would be grateful for any aid which it might receive; that the Romans having exercised an incontestable right, uncontested by the French Republic, the latter should solemnly recognise the Roman Republic as soon as its Constitution should have been sanctioned by universal suffrage; that Rome would receive the French soldiers, but that they should not enter the city unless the Government, menaced by immediate danger, should request their aid; that the Republican authorities would remain in office with their legal attributes, and that the French Republic should guarantee to the Assembly the right to complete the construction of the Constitution, and to carry it into practice. The General, scarcely casting a glance on these articles, so contrary to the commission given to M. Lesseps, and so entirely at variance with his own ideas, answered Mr. Cass, that, on the score of humanity, he was desirous of peace, but that

beyond all he desired an honourable peace, and a speedy conclusion; and then, without saying anything further, he took leave of the Ambassador, and gave no account of the interview to M. Lesseps. The Envoy, moved by the representations of M. de Rayneval and the Duke d'Harcourt, who regretted the turn given to the affair, and more particularly the truce, conquered by the murmurings of the soldiers, irritated by a tumult which had taken place at the Palace of the Legation, and afraid of treachery, decided on breaking off the negotiations, and, in concert with the General, signed the following protest:—

"We the undersigned, Oudinot de Reggio, General of Division, Commanding-in-Chief the Expeditionary French Corps in the Mediterranean, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, Envoy Extraordinary of the French Republic, on a mission at Rome;

"Taking into consideration the declaration made on the 19th of May, 1849, at two o'clock in the morning, to the Commissioners of the Roman Constituent Assembly;

"Taking into consideration the project of a convention, containing the ultimate modifications granted at the instance of the above-named Roman Commissioners, which project was to be either accepted or rejected by the end of the same day;

"Considering that a letter addressed to us at the last moment of the time appointed, announces that the Roman Assembly has not thought proper to accede to the proposals;

"We declare that the negotiations are broken off, and that no other duty remains to the undersigned but that of watching over the interests and the security of their countrymen residing at Rome:

"On the faith of which, the present declaration has been signed at the head-quarters of the Expeditionary Corps of the French army in the Mediterranean; copies will be transmitted

to the Roman Constituent Assembly, to the Triumvirs, and to the Representatives of Foreign Powers, in order that they may, if they should so wish, enable their own countrymen to participate in the same advantages as those accorded to the French."

The protest was sent to the Triumvirs with the following letter:—

"Gentlemen,

"According to the terms of the declaration which I consigned the day before yesterday to the Commissioners of the Roman Constituent Assembly, I am bound to consider that the letter which you did me the honour to address to me at the moment when the period fixed upon had expired, implied a rupture of the negotiations. As the Commissioners signified that they had not received sufficient authority from the Assembly to conclude an arrangement, there was no necessity for me to accompany them to the Head-quarters of the French army; I therefore went alone to the General-in-Chief, Oudinot de Reggio, and a declaration was signed by us, to the effect, that the negotiations were broken off, of which I send you a copy. Before remitting to you this document, and bringing it under the notice of my countrymen, I waited for the execution of the promise contained in the last paragraph of your dispatch of the 19th of May. [Here he copied the paragraph.] Up to this day, the 22nd of May, I have not received the counter proposal which you announced. You have not then kept to your word formally given, and I take note of that circumstance in the name of France. We believe that we have now exhausted all the means of reconciliation which the natural sympathies of the Roman population with France required from us. The responsibility of the misfortunes which would be the result of a fratricidal war will not fall upon us. It behoves us now to assume the initiative; the General-in-Chief and the Envoy Extraordinary of the French Republic will not fail in the duties which are imposed upon them. They will take care to notify, eight days beforehand, the rupture, I cannot say of the armistice, for the French never have been, and never

will be, the voluntary enemies of the Romans, but of the state of imminent conflict which existed at the period in which I was sufficiently fortunate to cause hostilities to be suspended.

"I think it is my duty to inform you that a circumstance took place yesterday at the French Embassy, the onus of which, it appears to me, ought to fall on the insufficiency of the provision made by the authorities entrusted with the maintenance of order in Rome. I had sent the first Secretary of the Legation to the Embassy on a commission. Whilst the French were quietly assembled there, a band of strangers attempted to force their way into the hall, and being promptly expelled, they awaited the breaking up of the party at the door of the palace, close to a guard-house of Roman soldiers. They were not restrained by the public force, though they gave vent to insolent cries, and made use of menacing gestures. When the carriage in which my delegate was seated made its appearance, the insults recommenced, and they attempted even to stop the horses. As far as regards myself, I should despise these lawless acts if they concerned myself alone, but the peaceful French are alarmed by them. I require from you reparation and a guarantee for the future."

But Mazzini, who fancied himself the Providence of Italy, and the Jupiter of the European factions, would not relinquish his project, on account of anything that might be revealed or prognosticated to him; the die once cast, he played for all or nothing. Not being aided by any knowledge of human nature, or any experience in public affairs, his mystical fancy made him rely on universal commotions and contests of the popular divinities; hence he scouted every negotiation which was opposed to the vulgar oligarchy of his party. I will not affirm that if he had permitted the Assembly to yield to such measures as the mission of Lesseps

could have confirmed; Rome and Italy would then have escaped the extreme of misery; but this I do affirm, that he is not a man of sense or a good citizen, who confides the destinies of a nation to the limited and obstinate will of a club; and who does not study events, does not foresee the probable nor adapt himself to the possible. Mazzini has nailed himself down to a whim which he calls an idea, and he defies reason, prudence, strength, fortune, time, and every other virtue and power which rules or directs human events. Thus the Italian people are paying with bitter slavery for the small glories of the faction which adores God and the people in itself; and which imagines, like a new Eolus, that it can unchain at its pleasure the whirlwinds which level empires. Every reasoning man must now feel in a state of doubt as to what might have been the issue, when he reflects how many circumstances might, if they had not been able to save Rome and Italy, at least have rendered their present state of servitude less cruel, and their redemption less distant, had Mazzini, instead of exasperating French feelings and relying on universal commotions, consented (when the honour of Rome had been once secured by the victory of the 3rd of April) that endeavours should be made to place the French Government under the obligation of adhering to the conditions which the Constituent Assembly had laid down for the expedition. Certain it is, that the States of Rome, Italy, and Europe would not have been troubled as they now are, if the restoration of the absolute sovereignty of the clergy had not been effected by means of French arms. But Mazzini believes that the best preparation for

national redemption and the liberty of the people are the Holy Office and the Austrian rod!

He sent the following answer to the protest and the letter which accompanied it:—

"We have received, at the same time, the declaration of the rupture of the negotiations, signed by you and by the General-in-Chief commanding the Expeditionary French Corps in the Mediterranean, of the 20th, and your letter of to-day the 22nd. It is true that in our letter of the 19th we signified our intention of sending you, on the 20th, a counter proposal, and that it has not been formally and officially forwarded. But it is true also that new bases of negotiations were, during the last few days, the object of communications, the spirit of which was conformable to that by which we are animated, and that they approached nearer than your note to the original project; reasons which induced us to delay the official communication which we had promised. We have always thought that between nations fraternally connected, between France and ourselves, there was less occasion to observe the rigorous precision of diplomatic forms than the substance of things.

"This persuasion is not weakened by your last communication; we shall therefore have the honour of sending you, very shortly, the note in question. We do not doubt you will make such use of it, Sir, as will be suggested by the conciliatory spirit which marked your first communications.

"We are much grieved that any disturbance should have taken place yesterday at the French Embassy; but it would be unjust to throw the responsibility on us. We have ascertained to a certainty, Sir, that not one Italian was at the French Embassy when the disturbance took place, and the inactivity of the guard is explained, if not justified, by the persuasion which they entertained that the rioters were Frenchmen. Such disturbances, however, shall not again occur. Accepting the assurance of our regret for what has taken place, you may rely, Sir, on the activity of the Government for the maintenance of order in future."

M. Lesseps having received this letter, sent M. La Tour d'Auvergne to Paris, to give an account of the particulars of his negotiations, and of such minor matters as could only be narrated vivâ voce. The expressions he used in writing to the Minister for Foreign Affairs show, that his views were uncertain, and that his mind was swayed hither and thither by contrary instigations and prejudices. He sent copies of the notes, of the propositions, of the letters; he said that *the course most in accordance with French interests was that of giving time to the people of Rome, who seemed favourable to his proposal for arrangement, to manifest their sentiments in such a way as would bring back the governing party to a just estimation of their interest;* he had pressingly urged General Oudinot to maintain the truce; that so the French Government might be able to decide after mature deliberation. Then he requested fresh reinforcements; it was imperative, he said, that 20,000 or 25,000 men should be sent from Marseilles; troops, but not siege artillery, because the show of troops would give weight to the negotiations, and Austria would be afraid to make war against the French; but on the contrary, siege artillery would give an idea of their intending to bombard Rome, to which he would not, under any circumstances, give his consent. He concluded by begging, that if the Government would not act on his advice, they would recall him from Rome; that they would at least answer promptly, yes or no.

The negotiations being interrupted, he became a prey to great anxiety of mind; and although the

Roman Government had asserted that a Frenchman named Colin was the ringleader of the disturbance which had taken place at the Palace of the French Embassy, he still continued to complain of the insults offered to him and to his nation, and took it into his head that plots were laid against his life. It is certain that some extreme propositions were entertained at that time by the insurgents, and perhaps still more by some French refugees; but neither proofs nor probable conjectures warranted the suspicion of meditated assassination. Yet M. Lesseps lent a ready ear to informers, who, whispering that the plot was laid, the assassin ready, and the dagger which stabbed Rossi sharpened, counselled him to return to the camp and take vengeance on the rulers of Rome.

With his mind thus disturbed, and his imagination heated, he wrote the following letter to the President, the Vice-Presidents, and the Deputies of the Assembly, on the 24th:—

"Gentlemen,

"At this serious conjuncture, and at the moment in which the crisis is at last fatally hastening on, which will either abase or raise for ever the banner of Italy, conscience imposes on me a last duty, that of making the truth known to the public, as I have already made it known to my Government.

"Public attention is too much occupied with me: the people disturb and agitate themselves, and the heroic citizens of Rome, through the popular instinct with which the masses are endowed, perceive clearly that some one is deceiving them.

"I, a man of peace, of truth, and of humanity, hold within my hands the proof that I am already marked out for the dagger of the assassin, as being the cause of the public agitation

and disquiet. I will not be an obstacle in the way of any one, and, in order to leave the country, the Assembly, and the constituted authorities, entire liberty of reflection, of discussion, and of decision, I shall retire for a few days to the Headquarters of the French army. Thence, in concert with the General-in-Chief, I will effectually watch over the safety of my inoffensive countrymen who may remain at Rome. When all hope is lost, I will come, if necessary, and seek them myself; but in the meantime, woe! woe! to the Eternal City if it touch a single hair on the head of a Frenchman or any other foreigner.

"On every side I have been asked, how can you expect we should receive you as friends if you do not give us any patent and public pledge?

"The form of our institutions, the unreserved character of the policy of the country of which I am the Envoy and the interpreter, would be sufficient to excuse me from giving such a pledge in order to avoid new complications, but since it is for the interests of all to open the eyes of the blind, to take away the power of doing injury from the wicked, to separate the healthy majority of the population from the influence of the leaders who oppress them, and who, when it suits their purpose, know how, by exciting and stimulating the love of country, to employ a unanimous impulse to bring about the triumph of the most detestable of causes, I will produce, in the face of day, this pledge so often demanded, so greatly desired by those true Romans who alone would be lost by the ruin of their country. This pledge, by which, in the interests of society at large, I do not fear to compromise my own responsibility or my future prospects, is this: *The French Republic guarantees the territory of the Roman States, occupied by its troops, against all foreign invasion.* This article, added to the three propositions with which you are acquainted, will confound our enemies both foreign and domestic, and will convince the most incredulous. The fate of your country is in your hands; do not fail in your duties, even as the French army, its General, and its conciliatory Minister will not fail in theirs. Do not lose, on any account, the present moment, which is so

precious; and if you have a traitor in Rome, which traitor I forgive, look for him and you will find him."

M. Lesseps afterwards published a manifesto, in which he said that the banner of France would float over his residence, over all the public establishments, and if it were desired, over all the houses in which Frenchmen resided; that his countrymen might have recourse to M. de Gerando in any case of necessity; that they would be protected; that he would watch over them effectually. Talking noisily in this fashion, he went off to the camp, and thence wrote letters to his Government, in which were the following expressions:—

"After his sojourn in England, Mazzini imagined a kind of Protestantism for his own country. He maintains frequent relations with English and Methodist missionaries. Though endowed with rare talents, he is nothing more than a man of vulgar ambition. Inspired as he is by the Genius of conspiracy, he has not comprehended the advantage he would have gained by relying on the Conservative element in the moderate portion of the population. Arrived at the possession of power, he has continued his dark and infernal machinations. Long years spent in the prisons of Italy and elsewhere" [Mazzini had not passed long years in prison in Italy and elsewhere] "have taken from him the power of opening his eyes, and have made of him an atrocious enemy of society." And he went on to say, "I regard any friendly occupation of Rome which might be made by our troops as injurious to us. We should gain nothing by mixing ourselves up with these politics, whilst Mazzini at their head oppresses, ter-

rifies, and ruins the inhabitants of Rome. The bottom of this system is nothing but a deficit and bankruptcy. I told Rayneval that I had endeavoured to pluck off the mask from this modern Nero." And he concluded by saying, the French troops ought not to be brought into contact with the Roman soldiers, *who were the scum of Socialism and of secret conspiracies.*

In this way the Envoy took all authority away from the advice he had given up to that time, or might give in future, with the aim of bringing to a close the mission with which he had been entrusted of framing an agreement with the authorities that were governing Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

AUSTRIAN INVASION.—ANSWER GIVEN BY THE COMMUNE OF FERRARA.—DETERMINATION OF BOLOGNA.—ATTACK BY WIMPFFEN.—AMBUSCADE.—ENGAGEMENT OUTSIDE THE WALLS.—BOLOGNESE KILLED.—THE MUNICIPALITY.—THE COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE.—THE PRESIDENT.—DEBATE ON THE SURRENDER.—POPULAR TUMULTS.—COMMISSIONERS FOR THE GOVERNMENT.—FRESH ATTACKS BY THE AUSTRIANS.—MILITARY LICENCE.—BURNING OF THE VILLA BIGNAMI.—DISTRESS IN THE CITY.—ENGAGEMENTS.—MESSENGERS SENT TO WIMPFFEN.—HIS SEVERITY.—FRESH DEPUTATIONS TO THE AUSTRIAN CAMP.—HARD TERMS PROPOSED BY WIMPFFEN.—BARBAROUS ACTS.—DISCOURAGEMENT OF THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE.—THE MUNICIPAL MAGISTRATES GO TO THE CAMP ACCOMPANIED BY THE ARCHBISHOP.—PROPOSALS MADE BY THE SENATOR.—STIPULATIONS.—ENTRANCE OF THE AUSTRIANS.—PROVISIONS MADE BY GORZKOWSKI.—MANIFESTO OF MONSIGNOR BEDINI.—FRESH PACIFIC ADVICE GIVEN BY LESSEPS.—LETTER FROM GENERAL OUDINOT TO THE AUSTRIAN GENERAL.—COUNCIL OF THE GENERALS.—LETTER FROM THE TRIUMVIRS TO LESSEPS.—ANSWER FROM LESSEPS.—HIS LETTER TO PARIS.—OBSERVATIONS.

The Austrians continued to prove themselves restorers of the clerical Government, the open enemies of Italy, and not her friends. With the exception of Alpi, and a few others of his faction, who hovered about the camp in the character of spies, intent on taking vengeance or securing booty, there was not a single party, or man of character, to whom they were not hateful. At Ferrara they ordered the Commune to declare for the restoration of the Pope; but the Coun-

cil of the Commune answered that they preferred the Republic. At Bologna they intimated that if the citizens did not return to their allegiance to the Pope, they would be severely punished; but Bologna held firm, though it was without natural defences, and possessed neither soldiers nor artillery. The popular leaders, animated by the example of Rome, and by the memory of the 8th of August, hoped to conquer through the ardour of the people; the citizens, whose judgment was not blinded by enthusiasm, knew that the city was incurring great risk without hope of triumph; but they felt, on the other hand, that it was their duty to testify their abhorrence of the Austrians, and the bad government which they were bent on restoring, by self-sacrifice. As soon as Wimpffen had posted his troops on the hills which command the city, he began to batter it with artillery and bombs, and simultaneously attacked the Porta Galliera on the one side, and the Porta San Felice, and the Porta Saragossa on the other; then he made a feint of retreating, and abandoned some guns outside the Porta Galliera, that the defenders, who fought with much valour, but without order and experience, might fall into the snare. The few officers who were skilled in military tactics saw clearly through the stratagem, and did all they could to warn the people, who wanted to rush upon the guns, but the foolhardy temerity of the inexperienced populace, and the shouts of others who took care not to scorch themselves whilst they fanned the flame, prevailed over their prudent advice, and it was determined forthwith to make a sally; and because the turbulent

cast reproaches on the officers who were loth to put the lives of the citizens in such desperate jeopardy, Marliani, an excellent musical composer, and a courageous soldier in the War of Independence, braved the peril that he might humiliate the insolence of the calumniators; and Colonel Boldrini, who had insisted, more than any one else, on the certain loss which would ensue, courageously volunteered to head the sally. The Bolognese then issued forth from the Porta Galliera, but they had scarcely reached the abandoned guns, when others, concealed at a short distance, began to pour forth destruction, and twenty valiant men were killed; among the first who fell were Marliani, Boldrini, and Pavoni, a subaltern officer in the Carabineers; several others were wounded, among whom was Major Colombarini. The attack and defence having lasted until the close of day, the Municipal authorities requested the President to summon the Committee of Defence to a Council, that they might consider whether, destitute as they were of means for gaining a victory, and having secured the honour of the Bolognese arms by the engagement in which many brave men had fallen, it would not be advisable to consent to terms such as would preserve the citizens from further peril, and the city from destruction. The Commissioners, who were Bignami, General of the National Guard, Colonels Pichi and Marescotti, commanding the few soldiers of the line, and Majors Colombarini and Paulucci, made answer, that considering the want of means and the preponderating force of the enemy, inasmuch as the engagement had lasted seven hours

with serious loss to the defenders and damage to the city, the honour of their arms was saved, and Europe had received a fresh proof of the national spirit of Bologna; they therefore felt it was their duty to agree in opinion with the President Biancoli, that he might consent to terms. The President, who considered he had fulfilled his duty in the first instance by counselling resistance, believed that he should now be fulfilling the duty of a citizen by taking care that the city should suffer no further damage, so far as he could prevent it, he therefore caused a white flag to be hoisted on the tower of the observatory, and resigned his authority into the hands of the municipality. They ordered another white flag to be hoisted on the clock tower, and sent Count Aldrovandi and Eugenio Alberi sa a deputation to Wimpffen to request an armistice, which they promised to employ in endeavouring to persuade the people to return to tranquillity. The Austrian General detained Aldrovandi as a hostage, and sent back Alberi with the promise of an armistice to last until the middle of the following day.

But, meanwhile, the people had risen, torn down the white flags, taxed the President with treachery, and demanded his death. Vain was all admonition amidst the menaces of vengeance and the fury of the brigands who had tyrannised over the city during the preceding year. The Municipal magistrates, who did not spare themselves any pains in the fulfilment of their civil duties, summoned the Council in order that three citizens might be elected to hold the reins of Government, and accordingly Antonio Alessandrini, an able cultivator of the natural sciences, who, by his irre-

proachable life and devotion to his country had gained universal respect and regard, was elected together with Domenico Nanni Levara, and Domenico Tonini, both of whom are patterns of all that is excellent. How great was the courage shown by these citizens would be sufficiently proved to every noble mind by the mere acceptance of so onerous a charge in the midst of such difficulties, even if the memory of the evils which they prevented were not present to the minds of the Bolognese; incalculable benefits which, lightly forgotten or repaid with ingratitude by contemporaries, ought to be treasured up by history with grateful care.

The armistice having terminated, the Austrians returned to the assault with renewed vigour and a reinforcement of artillery and bombs; they diverted the Reno Canal from its course, let loose the soldiery in the pleasant neighbouring villas, and gave them up to pillage, so that they sacked and devastated all of them; furniture was broken, provisions stolen or cast to the winds, statues thrown down, the Villa Bignami set on fire whilst a body of soldiers was stationed round to prevent the flames, which very soon destroyed it utterly, from being extinguished. This without the walls; within, amidst the thunder of artillery and the clanging of bells, songs and frenzied cries and warlike shouts arose, and by the frightful light of the conflagrations caused by the falling bombs, the maddened populace was seen joining in frantic dances round the tree of liberty; thus whilst the city was battered from without by Austrian barbarity, it trembled within beneath the impending perils of a savage mob. No

longer was there a shadow of discipline amongst the soldiers; they did not obey Pichi, and Marescotti obeyed the popular leaders in order to preserve some semblance of authority; the unbridled multitude, headed by a Brescianini, a Bellini, and other political actors, who abused the magistrates, and wished to rule themselves, no longer acknowledged the restraint imposed by the laws or by the usages of civilisation. On the 11th of the month it was reported that Romagna was moving to their aid, and when it was ascertained from the summit of the towers that the road beyond the Porta Maggiore was free from Austrians, they attempted to go and meet their expected friends, but they were scarcely outside the walls before they were attacked on all sides, killed, wounded, trampled upon, and dispersed; of the succours from Romagna nothing more was heard.

The magistrates then sent the Marquis Luigi Tanari, and Angelo Padovani to Wimpffen to request another armistice, but the only answer the Austrian vouchsafed was a menacing proclamation, and the next day he put forth another, in which he announced the arrival of General Gorzhowski, the Governor of Mantua, who was famed for his great severity. But neither the bombs, which did much injury, nor the menaces, interlarded with the elegant phrases with which the Austrians murder our language, nor the break-jaw name of the Governor of Mantua, had any effect on the rulers of the *Piazza*, who imagined the enemy to be few in numbers, and discouraged by the resistance they had met with, and who were still expecting aid from

Romagna. Thus passed two more days, a period which seemed endless when measured by the palpitating fears of the troubled citizens, and by the incessant thunder of the artillery. On the 15th the magistrates decided that a new deputation should be sent off, consisting of two citizens, two officers of the National Guard, and two of the most restless and noisy of the popular leaders, of whom one, Garagnani by name, was so alarmed in the street San Felice, by the artillery, that he took to his heels and hid himself; and Zannolini took care to tell the people of his cowardice. Wimpffen proposed surrender at discretion, the delivery of all the arms, of the Lombard refugees, of the agitators, and six of the most respectable citizens as hostages, giving them until five o'clock in the morning to decide.

In the meantime the conflagrations, the rapine, and the devastations around the camp increased, together with the horrors of military licence; women were violated, men assassinated, amongst them an old man whilst attempting to save his daughter-in-law from brutal violence. It was now only six days since the Austrians had besieged the city, victory was certain and at hand, and these people, in whose country they were committing so many ravages, had not shown them a single sign of enmity! The popular leaders, who had persuaded themselves and others that the number of the besiegers was small, and their artillery insignificant, became so disheartened when they had seen with their own eyes what the forces arrayed against them really were, that on their return to Bologna they im-

mediately began to assert that all further resistance was useless, and that it was time for all who were alarmed to consult their own safety. The magistrates, in consequence of this, decided to go themselves to the camp, accompanied by the Cardinal Archbishop Opizzoni, and the military commanders; they intimated this to the city, and signified their intention of obtaining conditions which should be consistent with honour and humanity; meantime the citizens must conduct themselves so as to ennoble and dignify misfortune.

At dawn on the 16th they went to Borgo Panigale, and were introduced to Gorzhowski, who had been nominated Civil and Military General of the province of Bologna; they were then ushered into the presence of Wimpffen, Prince Albert of Austria, General Strassoldi, and Monsignor Bedini. The Senator Zannolini commenced by saying that he could not, without dishonour, accept the terms which had been offered the preceding day; he proposed that Bologna should open her gates to the besiegers provided that the city were not punished for its resistance, and the combatants and refugees suffered no molestation; he trusted that the Austrian Generals would honour and not humiliate a brave people, who had been fighting during a week against such odds, and that the Pope's Legate would not add to the misfortunes which were signalising the restoration of the Pontifical Government. The Archbishop added words worthy of a priest, and it was then stipulated that four of the gates of the city should be given up to the Imperial troops; that the few troops of

the line should keep guard over the artillery in the Governor's palace, secure order, and swear fidelity to the Pope; that the arms should be surrendered at the Porta Castiglione to Austrian and Bolognese Commissioners; that no citizen or foreigner in Bologna should be annoyed or punished on account of the war or for political reasons. The magistrates notified the articles of capitulation to the city, and recommended dignity and submission, the popular leaders dispersed, the citizens were overwhelmed with grief, and the Austrians made their entry amidst profound silence. Gorzhowski gave orders, on the 18th of May, for all the arms, powder, and ammunition to be given up within forty-eight hours, *in due time* they would be restored; the Papal arms to be put up again; all meetings and assemblies prohibited; only four gates of the city to be kept open; every citizen to be in-doors at midnight; volunteers and the National Guard to be disarmed; the censorship of the press to be restored; every tri-coloured badge prohibited; summary justice in twenty-four hours, penalty death. Officers and soldiers effaced the marks of ownership from the arms which private citizens surrendered, and appropriated the best; the rest were sent to Mantua, and thus was performed the promise which the Austrians had made to restore them.

I will not follow the Austrians in their progress across Romagna, where, after the fall of Bologna, nothing followed worth remembrance. Nor will I describe the manner in which Monsignor Bedini began his government, since this will form the subject of the

following Book. But I will subjoin the manifesto which he published on the 19th of May, after Bologna had capitulated, because it bears testimony to the bravery of the besieged, the fury of the besiegers, and the ravages which they afterwards denied; and because it also proves how troubled was the conscience of the prelate, who, in the name of the Church, made a forced appropriation of temporal goods for the use of the priests. These are his words:—

"Bolognese,

"The expressions which I addressed to you when first I entered your territory, were prompted by most flattering hopes that the foreign disturbers of order would not succeed in their design of exposing your beautiful city to the terrible consequences of an obstinate and fruitless resistance.

"If my heart bled with anguish during the time in which this unequal and unexpected contest lasted, triumph itself has not sufficed to console me; the horrible vestiges which now surround me, grieve my soul beyond measure, nor can I address you anew without first offering you the liveliest expression of my sympathy. This is a most distressing commencement of my mission, which would cause the heart of the bravest to tremble, but as far as in me lies, it shall never lose its peaceful and conciliatory character.

"Whilst a just military severity provides for the speedy consolidation of order and public security—supreme blessings, of which the name alone remains to you, I will spare no endeavours that the administration of public business may not remain any longer in a state of neglect and confusion, but may resume its course, so as to correspond to the ardent desires and urgent necessities of every citizen.

"Let not, then, docility and confidence be wanting on your part, and let me have, whenever necessary, the advice and assistance of those who are most esteemed among you for wisdom and integrity, and who are all most anxious to see

brought about as soon as possible, the accomplishment of our wishes, in the restoration to his See of the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IX., from whose heart, ever open to the real happiness of his children, proofs of the most benevolent feelings will not delay to emanate."

M. Lesseps was at the French camp when he received intelligence of the events which had taken place at Bologna, and was informed that the Austrians, already masters of Romagna, were moving speedily upon the middle and lower provinces; whereupon, the Envoy, who, but a few days before, had been so exasperated with the authorities at Rome, that he would not intercede with the General for the restitution of the copper and crucibles* which had been seized at Cività Vecchia, and which Valentini, Commissioner of Finance, with Feoli, and Kolb, the Wurtemberg Consul, had demanded, directed his attention once more to a project of agreement, whilst Oudinot wrote the following letter to the Austrian General who was coming down from the Tuscan Appennines:—

"General,

"News has reached me that you have arrived at Perugia with a portion of your troops, and that you intend proceeding onwards, and putting yourself in communication with the Neapolitan army in the Abruzzi. It is my duty to remind you, that the French army has commenced, unassisted, the siege of Rome, and that it is in a situation to take possession of the Ponte Molle, and thence to open a communication with the roads leading to Florence and Ancona. I am resolved to move my soldiers in that direction, you must therefore keep yours back; the honour of the French arms requires it. I have learned to respect Austrian troops on the field of battle, but just now any movement made by them upon Rome, would

* Rame e crogiuoli.

appear in the light of an insult, and be considered a sign of hostility to France. If our soldiers were to meet at this conjuncture, unpleasant encounters, which we ought both of us to be anxious to avoid, might be the consequence."

A strange state of things, in which the Governments of France and Austria, if they were not agreed as to the terms on which the clerical restoration was to be based, were at least agreed in the determination to effect it by force of arms! But, if General Oudinot thought it possible that encounters might take place, Radetzky, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrians, was free from any such idea, for when the Piedmontese Envoys, who were treating for peace at Milan, seemed doubtful as to the manner in which France would conduct the Roman enterprise, he said with a smile, "We are all agreed."

As the Envoy had urged that nothing further should be attempted against Rome until fresh despatches had arrived from Paris, General Oudinot summoned a Council of the Generals, who were grumbling at the inactivity to which they were condemned, and afraid that the malaria would soon produce its summer fruits. As soon as they were assembled, Lesseps gave an account of all his proceedings, produced the documents, read the letters which he had written to the Ministry, and declared that he was firmly determined to oppose the prosecution of the war until he had received an answer to his despatches, laying great stress on the orders which the General had received, under date of the 10th of May. Some of the Generals then

rose, and said that a single assault, a single demonstration in arms, would be sufficient to give them possession of Rome; that the Romans had perhaps no desire, as they certainly had no means, to resist; that vain was the fear of sanguinary engagements, certain the danger arising from the malaria which would menace the army if longer delay were to be made; that the French Government would not wish the army to be exposed to dishonour and loss. The Envoy answered, that they were quite mistaken in supposing that the Romans were downcast or deficient in means of resistance; that if they took up arms once more and stained their hands with blood, they would have to shed it in torrents; they would have to destroy buildings, they would be obliged to conquer by a siege; triumph, indeed, was certain, but he would not load his conscience with the evils which would result from it; in the meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief could not, without his assent, take upon himself the responsibility. Then the General asked if they thought it advisable to recommence the attack on Rome without heeding the warnings of M. Lesseps, and without waiting for further orders, to which the majority answered in the affirmative. But General Mollier urged, that though it was difficult to offer prudent advice in the midst of so much excitement, yet he did not know with what show of reason they could oppose the opinion given by the Envoy, who only asked that they should delay for as long a period as was necessary to know the wishes of the Government before taking

so very serious a step; accordingly he brought the majority round to his views, and it was decided that they should await the orders of the Government.

In the meantime the Triumvirs wrote thus to M. Lesseps:—

Sir,

"We have had the honour to furnish you with some explanations, in our note of the 16th, respecting the unanimous agreement amidst which the Government of the Roman Republic was installed. We have now to address you on the subject in dispute—such as it is in fact, if not in right—between the French Government and ours. You will permit us to do this with all the frankness which is required by the serious nature of the case, and by those international sympathies which ought to govern all negotiations between France and Italy. Our diplomacy has truth for its basis; and the nature of your mission, Sir, makes us feel assured you will always interpret as favourably as possible all that we shall have the honour to say to you.

"Permit us, Sir, to go back for a little while to the origin of the present state of things.

"By conferences and agreements negotiated without the participation of the Roman Republic, it was decided some time since by the European Catholic Powers: 1st, that a political modification should take place in the Government and Institutions of the State of Rome; 2ndly, that this modification should have for basis the return of Pius IX., not merely as Pope, for to that no one amongst us offers any obstacle, but as Prince and temporal Sovereign; 3rdly, that if a united intervention was thought necessary, in order to accomplish this object, it should take place.

"We are inclined to admit, that while the sole and only motive of some of the stipulating Powers was that of a general restoration and an absolute return to the treaties of 1815, the French Government was induced to join the alliance only

through erroneous information, which was deliberately intended to make it believe the State of Rome was torn by anarchy, and governed by terror, exercised in the name of an audacious minority.

"Moreover, we know that in the projected modification the French Government intended to offer more or less liberal advice, opposed to the absolutist views of Austria and Naples. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the prevailing idea in all these negotiations was that of a return to the past, and of a Convention between the Roman people and Pius IX. as temporal Sovereign, either with a despotic or constitutional form of government—either with liberal guarantees for the Roman population, or without them. We cannot conceal from you, Sir, that we believe the French expedition was planned and conducted in accordance with this idea. Its object was, on the one side, to throw the sword of France into the scales of the negotiations about to be commenced at Rome, and on the other side, to guarantee the people of Rome from all reactionary excess, always insisting, however, as a primary condition, on the restoration of a constitutional monarchy, in favour of the Holy Father.

"Putting aside the well-grounded information which we believe ourselves to possess on this project, as based on pre-established arrangements, the same purpose is also evident in the proclamations of General Oudinot; in the formal declarations of successive Envoys to the Triumvirs, and in the silence, so obstinately maintained, whenever we have endeavoured to touch upon political questions, and to obtain a formal acknowledgment of the fact attested in our note of the 16th, namely, that the Institutions by which the people of Rome are now governed, are the free and spontaneous expression of the inviolable wishes of the people, legally interrogated. In conclusion, the vote of the French Assembly implicitly confirms the fact which we affirm.

"In such a situation, menaced by a Convention which cannot be accepted, and by negotiations which the state of our people does not require, our duty, Sir, was plain; it was our duty to

resist. We owed it to our country, to France, to the whole of Europe. To fulfil a pledge, honestly given and loyally accepted, it was our duty to maintain, as far as possible, the inviolability of our country, of its territory, and of its institutions, received with unanimous acclamation by all the organs, all the elements of the State. It was our duty to gain such time as was necessary for appealing from France ill-informed to France better informed; to shield the Sister Republic from the stigma which would have attached to her if, hurried away by foreign suggestions, she had unconsciously become accomplice in a violence of which we should not know where to find the equal, except by going back to 1772, the epoch of the first partition of Poland.

"It was our duty to maintain inviolate, in the face of Europe, as far as in us lay, the fundamental principle of all international life, the independence of every people in all that regards its internal administration. And we say it with pride, that we believe by acting thus, we have deserved well, not only from you, but also from all the nations of Europe, because, whilst we resisted with enthusiasm the forces of the Neapolitan Monarchy, and of our eternal enemy, Austria, we experienced profound grief on being obliged to resist the arms of France. You are acquainted, Sir, with the events that have taken place since the French intervention. Our territory has been invaded by the King of Naples; 4000 Spanish soldiers embarked on the 17th, in order to make a descent on our shores. The Austrians, after having triumphed over the heroic resistance of Bologna, have marched onwards through Romagna, and now are moving against Ancona. We have beaten the forces of the King of Naples, and driven them back from our territory: we are confident we could do the same with the Austrians, if the attitude assumed by the French army did not hamper our movements. We say it with sorrow; but after all, France ought to know what the expedition of Cività Vecchia has cost us, designed, as it was said, for purposes of protection.

"It is grievous to have to affirm such things, but yet we

must assert that, of all the interventions which contemplate our downfall, that of France has been the most fatal. Against the soldiers of the King of Naples, against the Austrians, we can fight, and God protects the righteous cause. We will not fight against the French. With regard to them we are not in a state of war, but of simple defence. Yet this state, the only one in which we can place ourselves with respect to France, has all the evils, and none of the probable advantages of war.

"The French Expedition, Sir, constrained us to concentrate our troops, leaving the frontier exposed to the Austrians, and Bologna and the cities of Romagna disarmed. The Austrians profited by this, and after a week of heroic popular conflict, Bologna was forced to succumb. We had purchased arms in France wherewith to defend ourselves; now ten thousand muskets, at least, have been sequestrated, part at Cività Vecchia, part at Marseilles, and are in your hands. By one blow, you have thus taken from us ten thousand soldiers—for against the Austrians every armed man is a soldier.

"Your forces are assembled under our walls, within gun shot, ready for a siege, without intention, without aim, openly avowed. They constrain us to keep the city in a state of defence, which causes ruin to our finances, and obliges us to maintain in the garrison a disproportionate number of troops, which might otherwise save our cities from Austrian invasion and devastation; they impede commerce, the supply of provisions, the service of the post; they keep the minds of men in such a state of excitement, that if our population were less docile or less faithful, pernicious consequences would ensue. Neither anarchy nor re-action have, however, been generated, for both are impossible in Rome; but anger has been sown against France, and that is a misfortune sad indeed to us, accustomed to love her and to hope in her.

"We are besieged, Sir, besieged by France under the guise of a protectionary act, while at a few leagues hence the King of Naples is carrying our hostages away in his flight, and the Austrians are killing our brethren.

"You, Sir, have proposed certain terms which have been

rejected by the Assembly, and therefore we cannot discuss them further. You add a fourth to the three articles which were rejected, by which you say that France will protect from all foreign invasion the whole of those portions of the Roman territory occupied by her troops. You must, Sir, perceive that, according to that, our position remains just what it is. The portions of our territory occupied by your troops are, in fact, protected, but if that apply to the present time, how large is this portion? if it apply to the future, shall we then have no other way of protecting our territory but by leaving it all in your power? This is not the knot of the controversy. The question is, in reality, the occupation of Rome, and this question has been the primary condition of all the terms proposed up to the present time.

"We have now the honour to inform you that that is impossible; our people will never consent to it. If the occupation of Rome is for no other purpose than that of protecting it, our people will express their gratitude to you; but they will also tell you that they are able to protect Rome with their own forces; they would think that it would be dishonouring themselves in your eyes to allow that they are powerless; to allow that they stood in need of French regiments to defend them. If, then, the occupation of Rome has, which God forbid, a political aim, the people, who have freely settled their own institutions, cannot bring themselves to submit to it. Rome is their Capital, their Palladium, their sacred City. They know that, putting out of the question their principles and their honour, civil war would be the sure result of such an occupation. They mistrust so much persistence, they foresee that if your troops were once admitted, a change of men and of institutions would follow, which would be fatal to their liberty. They know that, in the face of foreign bayonets, the independence of their Assembly and of their Government would be an idle word; the example of Cività Vecchia is ever before their eyes. Be assured, Sir, that upon this point their will is irrevocable; they will be massacred from barricade to barricade sooner than submit. Now, *can* the soldiers of France, *will* they, massacre a people of brothers, whom they ought to protect, only because they

will not give their Capital up to them? France has but three alternatives from which to choose in the Roman States; either to be with us, against us, or neutral.

"To be with us implies formally to recognise our Republic, and to fight against the Austrians in alliance with our troops; to be against us, signifies to oppress without reason the liberty and the national life of a friendly people, to fight against us in alliance with the Austrians. France cannot do that, but if she will not run the risk of a European war by defending us as our allies, then let her remain neutral in the contest which we have undertaken with our enemies. Yesterday we hoped for still more than this, to-day all we ask is, neutrality.

"The occupation of Cività Vecchia is an accomplished fact, and let it be so, since France believes that at the present conjuncture it does not become her to remain at a distance from the field of action. She thinks that, conquering or conquered, we shall stand in need of her friendly interposition, or of her protection, and although we are not of the same opinion, we do not intend herein to oppose her. Let her hold Cività Vecchia and garrison it. Let her even extend her quarters, if the number of her troops require it, to the salubrious localities comprised in the district between Cività Vecchia and Viterbo, and there wait the end of the contest which will ensue. We will give her soldiers every facility—we will offer them every testimony of frank and cordial sympathy. Her officers shall visit Rome, her soldiers shall meet with every accommodation, but let her neutrality be sincere, and without any secondary views; and let her declare it in explicit terms. Let her leave us free to throw all our forces into the fray; let her restore our arms; let her not close our ports with her cruizers against the Italians, who desire to come to our aid; let her, above all, remove her troops to a distance from our walls, and let even the shadow of hostility pass away from two nations, who we trust are destined to be united at a later period in the same international creed, as they are now in the same form of government."

Lesseps answered that if Rome was inclined to come to an agreement he had always desired it; they would

learn from his secretary how ready he was to give them a proof of his kindly feelings towards them; let them not fear any violence; let them not recur to the past, and let every one do his part in promoting concord. He then wrote thus to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris, under date of the 26th:—

"Sir,

"A few hours after the departure of my letter of yesterday, I received from the Triumvirs a note, in which they ask of me, in the name of the Constituent Assembly, certain declarations or preliminary explanations which may demonstrate to the Roman people, that we do not wish to impose our friendship and protection upon them by commencing with firing our guns upon them, and by overthrowing their walls and their public monuments if they resist. This is the spirit of the document of which I cannot send you a copy to-day, as it is very long. I shall answer it.

"Both my letters, sent yesterday to the Assembly, have therefore brought about a result, and public opinion begins to pronounce itself with vigour in favour of the accommodation which I proposed. But it is requisite that no offence should be given on our side to the self-love of the Romans by speaking of siege and cannon, or by showing too much haste to introduce into Rome the army which desires to enter, in my opinion, with too great impatience. In this part of the affair my greatest difficulty is at present contained. I am constantly occupied with it, and therefore I request, Sir, that you will please to communicate with the Minister of War, in order that if the conclusion of the negotiations should be delayed, through any unforeseen accident, our army may not endanger the great object which we propose to ourselves, through any impatience, however legitimate on its part. The only serious inconvenience which would result from maintaining our actual position for more than a fortnight longer, would arise from the approach of the unhealthy season. I hope, however, to come to a conclusion before we find ourselves reduced to the alternative, which in

my opinion may be avoided, either of attacking Rome or of seeing the army decimated by malaria. Yet as it is well to provide for everything, I submit to you the following question, which I beg you to cause to be solved without delay by the Government of the Republic: *will the French army, now quartered on the north-west of the city, that is to say, the quarter in which miasma is most pernicious during summer, be constrained either to remain inactive, or to attack Rome, and by bombarding its walls, give it a clear proof of our friendship and of our desire to protect it?* I do not believe so, because I think that a middle course is sure to be found which will permit us to wait, and which will consist in changing the quarters of the troops, and transferring the greater portion to Albano and Frascati, which, as well as the neighbourhood, are healthy places. This change would not have the appearance of a retreat, because we should always be ready at once to enter Rome, if we were to be called thither by the wishes of the population, which will be all the more general and urgent, the less impatience we show, and the more we respect the proper sensitiveness of the inhabitants of a city, that does not wish to be embraced by force. On the other hand, that sensitiveness diminishes from day to day. General Oudinot does all in his power, as well as myself, to effect an agreement, only it is important he should receive new orders as quickly as possible, because the general officers who depend upon them still obey the spirit of those instructions which commanded the entry, whether peaceful or forced, of our troops into Cività Vecchia. It is self-evident that, at the outset of the expedition, it was necessary, for the advantage of the Roman people to occupy, either with consent or by force, a post which would serve as a base for all future operations; but having obtained a footing there, it must be clear that all further steps ought to be taken with the view of reassuring the rest of the Roman States, and especially the inhabitants of Rome.

"Let the Government decide without delay, and not leave me any longer between the hammer and the anvil."

This letter did not succeed in cancelling the one he had written a little while before.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADVICE GIVEN BY ENGLAND.—LORD PALMERSTON.—NO PROMISE OF AID FOR THE REPUBLIC.—LETTER FROM THE ROMAN ENVOY MARIONI.—MAZZINI KEEPS IT SECRET.—LORD NAPIER AT ROME.—NEGOTIATIONS OF RUSCONI.—HIS NOTE TO LORD PALMERSTON.—LANGUAGE OF LORD PALMERSTON.—REMARKS BY RUSCONI.—DEFINITIVE ANSWER OF LORD PALMERSTON.—ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE TRIUMVIRS.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE DREGS OF THE MAZZINIANS.—ASSASSINATIONS COMMITTED BY ZAMBIANCHI.—OBSERVATIONS.—SIEGE AND TAKING OF ANCONA.—ATTITUDE ASSUMED BY THE AUSTRIANS.—L'ALFI.—PRINCE SIMONETTI.

HAVING narrated the projects of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples, and the fruitless result of the negotiations attempted by Piedmont, it is fitting we should touch upon the views entertained by England, the most sagacious of modern nations, who, being disinclined to mix in these affairs at the risk of the peace of Europe, and of her own honour, incurred the reproaches of the Republicans, and the calumnies, not yet ended, of the illiberal of every country and of every class.

Lord Palmerston had given a courteous reception to Canuti, who had gone to London as an Envoy from Mamiani after the 16th of November, regarding him as charged with the office of bringing about a reconciliation with the exiled Pontiff, whom England thought destined to be reinstated in some way or other. "It is

necessary," Lord Palmerston had said at the commencement of the insurrection, "it is necessary quickly to come to an understanding with the Pope, and with him to restore liberal institutions; otherwise you will have the Pope of a certainty, but public liberties not." Things having afterwards come to the pass which we have described, Manzoni, Carpi, and Marioni, the Roman Envoys who were in England, either on particular missions, or for the purpose of sounding public opinion, or engaged in diplomatic affairs, never received any promise whatever of aid for the Republican enterprise; on the contrary, they heard many adverse opinions and unfavourable auguries expressed. But after the 30th of April, and during the mission of Lesseps, it seemed as if a smile of fortune were dawning upon the Republic, and its rulers imagined it would be saved, if England would but say a word in its favour; accordingly Marioni went to Lord Palmerston, begging that he would recognise and protect it; and on the 23rd of May he wrote to Rome, giving an account of the steps he had taken, as follows:—

"He, Lord Palmerston, entered into a long conversation with me. He agreed that our position, as a Government, was much better than it was when we first conferred together. He acknowledged that the accusation was unjust, which asserted that a Terrorist faction prevented the general expression of the wishes of the people, that would otherwise be manifested by a reaction in favour of the Pontiff, to retain whom as temporal Prince, he also confessed, to be contrary to the national will. He also expressed himself in flattering terms on the bravery of our people and our soldiers in repelling the attacks of the French and Neapolitans, and on the constancy with which

Bologna had suffered and fought, though with adverse fortune. In conclusion he said:—'*Yet you had better counsel those who govern the Republic to treat at least with France, and that immediately, with frankness and on such conditions as can be accepted. England will lend a willing hand so far, and will give you every support, for the interests not only of Rome, but of Italy. Do not let slip the present moment, in which you have the power, if not to impose and exact, at least to obtain, most favourable conditions. Accept the Pope with a Constitution extended and real, with the freedom of the press, and with all the guarantees for liberty and future progress; with the express condition of the entire and perpetual separation of the two principles of the two powers, ecclesiastical and secular. Make also the secularisation of the Government a condition, a sine quâ non. It is my opinion that the French Government, whatever may be the future Ministry, will meditate on these conditions, and will cause them to be accepted by the Pope and his party, even though they should not please him. Profit by this favourable moment*'—and this expression he repeated to me over and over again—'*if you let it slip, it will be your own fault—your own loss. Profit by the present state of public opinion in France; for it is not eternal, and by the mistakes committed by General Oudinot, which have given quite another colouring to the affair. Hope in the future, pregnant with so many events which human foresight cannot calculate upon or direct, but treat, treat immediately. Perhaps, during the negotiations, circumstances may develope themselves which may enable you to exact still better terms. For the present, content yourselves with what is practicable; if you refuse, it will be worse for you, much worse. The chances against you being very many, you may, by your obstinacy, render them still greater and insurmountable.*' And what his Lordship never did until to-day, he added, '*I give you this advice in my private capacity, or, if you prefer it, as the Minister of the Queen, and of the British nation.*' As usual, I renewed my protest against any treaty for the restoration of the Pope, in-

sisting that the recognition should be at least secondary, and conditional, until France should have recognised us. To this he answered, that '*happen what may in France, we shall never be permanently recognised as a Republic; that the Pope would be imposed upon us afresh, under some title or other, under some name or colour, even if the Red Republic should be established in France, which is certainly unlikely enough.*'"

Mazzini, who, after the departure of Rusconi, had acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs, suppressed Marioni's letter, giving, instead, a colour of authenticity to some private letters, according to which England, about to recognise the Roman Republic, advised a desperate resistance; by which act the Triumvir not only failed in his duty towards the Assembly, but gravely erred against the laws of honour. Nor was it by Marioni alone that the English Government sent prudent counsels; they also came by other channels. Lord Napier arrived at Rome in May, ostensibly to visit its public monuments as a lover of the arts, but really to convince the Government of the necessity of having recourse to prudent measures. But they would not hold any intercourse with him, and Borgatti alone, a wise and honourable young man, who had remained in office for the sake of doing good, had several interviews with him, listened to him, and appreciated his advice; but he attempted in vain to render it acceptable to the Triumvirs.

The negotiations which Rusconi afterwards undertook in London had principally for their object to procure the mediation of the English Government

on behalf of the Republic. He requested this from Lord Palmerston at his first interview, and begged him to send an Envoy to Cività Vecchia, to prevent sanguinary conflicts; to which request the English Minister replied courteously, asking for a written Note, which he might submit to the consideration of the Ministry. Rusconi, on the 3rd of June, wrote to him accordingly, as follows:—

"My Lord,

"The events which are now taking place in the States of Rome are such as must attract the notice of every civilised nation; and it is respecting them that, through the medium of your Lordship, I would invoke the attention of England, that great country which, for more than three centuries, has been marching in the foremost ranks of liberty and progress.

"Three millions of men, my Lord, the entire population of the State which extends from Velletri to Ferrara, have declared, by all kinds of manifestations, that government by the Pope is impossible. The Municipalities, the Clubs, the Assembly of that country, have put forth such a declaration repeatedly. The last time they put it forth was when the French, the Germans, the Spaniards, and the Neapolitans were invading their native land, that is to say, when the last hour of the Republic, which succeeded the Papal Government, seemed to have arrived. This declaration, the resistance shown to the invasion by all our cities, and the fact that the French army has not witnessed a single act of any city which showed that it was gladly welcomed, ought to have destroyed the idea that a faction was ruling in Rome; that the whole country was not unanimous in repudiating clerical government; and I should be insulting the good sense of your Lordship if I were to dilate further on a subject of which you, my Lord, are as much convinced as I am. The dissolution of the temporal power of the Pope is desired by the entire population of the States of Rome; to wish to restore that power is to sin against

the vital interests of a whole nation; it is an offence against the moral sentiment; it is a falling back into the power of that tyranny from which Europe emancipated herself by torrents of blood. Enlightened England cannot but see that such a restoration would keep the peace of Italy, and with it that of the world, in a state of perpetual oscillation. Envenomed hatred would burst forth, soon or late, stronger than ever, and fresh revolutions would very quickly break out against a power enthroned by force. When a whole nation has proclaimed an idea, that idea, sooner or later, triumphs; to attempt to divert it from its course, to endeavour to extinguish it, only renders the impetus more terrible.

"As to endeavouring to render that Power endurable, by surrounding it with liberal institutions, I recall your attention to the Memorandum of 1831, and to the manner in which it was observed. I recall the attention of your Lordship to the history of our Constitution, which was never more than a vain phantom, for the double character of the Prince rendered any Constitution impossible. I refer, also, to the very words themselves of the Prince, contained in the Allocution of the 20th of April of the present year, in which it is clearly said, that all liberty is an error, an oppression; that the true felicity of our State is only to be found in strengthening that past against which, from generation to generation, our fathers have fought. Your Lordship has that document in your hands, and will value it as it deserves. I appeal to you, therefore, my Lord, whether the Powers have any reason to believe that we can ever have liberal institutions with the Papal Government—if they believe that we can ever have a guarantee against the intolerance of clerical dominion. The Court of Gaeta builds on the manifestations made by Russia and Austria; and it is useless to deny, my Lord, that the movement which troubles Europe is not confined to one State alone, but is a general movement. Liberty being extinguished in Naples, extinguished in Lombardy and Tuscany, with the fall of Venice and Rome (if we should come to that) the dawn of Italian regeneration would be at an end, and Italy would fall back into that state of

dark degradation which converts a noble-minded people into a gang of slaves. At the same time the movements in Germany being equally suppressed; Hungary, which alone still raises the standard of liberty, being conquered in the struggle; France being absorbed in her own internal dissensions, which are on the point of bursting forth afresh, all the countries of the Continent would remain under the dominion of Russia and Austria; and England, that liberal nation, would no longer have a State on the Continent on whom she could rely. Now, can England see, without being moved, all free institutions suppressed on the Continent? Can she behold with indifference all Europe made Cossack? Will she not start at the sight of the isolation in which Austria and Russia are about to place her?

"Your Lordship is too enlightened a lover of his country, not to feel that, in this great contest of liberty with tyranny, which is now in progress on the Continent, England, a first-rate power, has a first-rate part to perform; that she cannot, without abdicating that position, without renouncing the influence which she has rightfully exercised in the world, remain a passive spectator of a strife in which the dearest interests of the world are at stake.

"Let England appear on the arena—that is the entreaty which, in the name of my country, I make to your Lordship. England will prevent a great catastrophe from taking place in Rome, and I may also add, a great wrong, by casting her powerful sword into the scales of the oppressed. Rome will not surrender, my Lord, without shedding torrents of blood, without burying herself beneath her own ruins, and destroying the most glorious monuments of the world; and those ruins, my Lord, will be terrible witnesses to posterity of the violence, of the brutal force to which, in this our day, a noble-hearted people was condemned by Europe.

"Let England appear in the arena and find a solution for this problem, with which for centuries Italy has been struggling. The treaties of 1815 are not so stringent, but that diplomacy can modify them. If England will not do it, the people will, and they have already done it through the impetus

of revolutions; Italy, and Europe with her, will have no peace until those treaties are modified. If the Powers be of opinion that a temporal dominion is necessary to the Pope, it does not necessarily follow that that dominion must be in the States of Rome. A Principality, more or less extended, may always be found, and to give a compensation to that State in which such Principality may be created, is a matter which ought to present but few difficulties to the Powers that have so often remodelled and readjusted Europe, in accordance with the requirements of the times. As soon as England appeared on the field of action, the pretensions of Gaeta would diminish, those of Russia and Austria would lessen also. Liberty would be enfranchised by that glorious island, which, first in Europe, asserted the rights of the people, and which from its love of liberty deduces its best arguments of greatness. Liberty would thus be saved in Europe, and Europe would owe to England the immense benefit of not beholding all her institutions perish one by one. This, my Lord, would be a moral conquest for England, which would renew her youth by centuries, and make her more powerful and fortunate than the Indies.

"My Lord, history in its impartiality will register the facts of this our epoch, and it perhaps reserves for your Lordship a glory which shall endure as long as the love of liberty lasts amongst men. Menaced Europe will become entirely Cossack, I repeat it, if England does not make her voice heard in time. Your Lordship can, by a single word, dispel the cloud which is gathering, and cause hope to revive once more in a thousand oppressed countries.

"I exhort you to this holy work, as the citizen of a Republic against which the whole of Europe is leagued, which the force of bayonets may annihilate, but which will not fail to obtain the admiration of posterity. Let England rouse herself to action, let her prevent the consummation of an act which will make revolution permanent in the Roman State; let her assure the peace of Italy, and the future of the world, by protecting those institutions which the times have rendered indispensable, and she will deserve well of posterity and civilisation.

"May you, my Lord, receive these observations as the result of the accurate knowledge which I possess of my country."

Lord Palmerston replied (Rusconi himself affirms it), that the Note was in some parts obscure; he asked why the Pope could not be reinstated as a Constitutional Prince, like the Queen of England; and added that France and England had only to desire it should be so, and all recourse to the past would be prevented. If liberal institutions were necessary to Rome, France and England would be able to guarantee them. Rusconi, recalling to mind the Memorandum of May, 1831, the innumerable promises that had been violated, and the unfortunate trial of the "Statute," prophesied that, if Rome yielded, it would fall again into the power of the clergy, who, by their astuteness, would triumph over all diplomacy. Writing afterwards to Rome, he said, that *English Statesmen were not pleased at seeing a Republic founded in the heart of Italy;* they were all averse to war; Cobden was of opinion that Parliament would never furnish Government with money for any such enterprise, and that England ought not to risk her blood and her fortunes in the disputes of the European Continent. Having gone to Paris to recommend the compromise proposed by England, it appeared to him that it was by no means unacceptable to all; but Paris, he wrote, was much disturbed, perhaps an insurrection would be attempted, a revolution appeared to him impossible; a false step would bring all into ruin. Palmerston finally signified to him that England could not assume the office of mediator without great danger; that an English Envoy

would not be respected if he were not backed by a fleet; that Parliament would not consent to the expense and the risks of an armed force; they must treat with France, certain of the good offices of Great Britain.

Bologna having fallen, and the Austrians being masters of Romagna, and intent on the acquisition of the Marches and Umbria, the Governors of Rome published a Proclamation, by which they incited the people to take revenge, and sent emissaries into the provinces that they might fan the flame of insurrection, but no event took place worthy of mention. On the 24th May they decreed that every government or municipal official who should obey the invaders, should be punished as a traitor to his country; that tax-gatherers should neither collect taxes nor pay expenses in their service; that the tax-payers and debtors to the State should neither pay taxes nor debts, or they would have to pay twice; decrees void of utility. They laid a tax of 30,000 scudi on the patrimony of the House of Loretto; they granted subsidies; they continued to make preparations for resistance; and, as the Assembly placed itself in their hands with regard to the negotiations with Lesseps, they had the fate of the State completely in their power. The Sovereign People had given themselves up to the Assembly; the Assembly had given itself up to the Triumvirs; the Triumvirs had given themselves up to Mazzini—a most liberal reading, indeed, of universal suffrage! But the Dictator who, thanks to this, and to the artifices of his party, easily lorded it over the real people,

that is to say, over the whole of the citizens, had no power to keep his own people in check, the insurrectionists, the factionists, the mountebanks, the blackguards, whom he deifies in the name of the people. Therefore, in the same way as they had converted the boasts of liberty into the tyranny of faction in the provinces, and by the power of the dagger had attempted to found a Republic, so in Rome they committed outrages which were abhorred, not only by all honest Republicans, but also by the saner portion of Mazzini's party. They mocked at the pomp of the Papal Court, made bonfires of the Cardinals' carriages, and a jest of confession, taking away the confessionals out of the churches to burn them on the Piazza del Popolo, and they only failed in their intention because the Triumvirs, by public edicts, money, and persuasion, were in time to check their impious frenzy. But the Government had not sufficient power, nor could it have, whilst it honoured and caressed them, to curb the vile fury of the cut-throats, led on by Zambianchi, of whom I have spoken elsewhere with contempt, and whom the reader must not confound with a person of the same name, a young man of cultivated mind and refined feelings, who was Secretary to the Assembly. From the confines of Naples, where he was stationed on duty with the Revenue officers, he had sent priests and citizens, known to be adverse to the Republic, as prisoners to Rome; and because the Government set them at liberty after a very short confinement, he swore, as he himself acknowledged afterwards, henceforth not only to fill the place of sgherro, but also that of judge and hangman. And he kept his

wicked oath, for on his return to Rome, having met on the road of the Monte Mario the parish priest, Father Sghirla, a Dominican, he killed him on the spot, and boasted of it. Then, having taken up his residence near Santa Maria in Trastevere, he either suspected, or pretended to suspect, that priests and monks were conspiring against the Republic, went about in quest of priests and monks, shut them up in San Calisto, and began to massacre them. How many of them there were it would be difficult to say. He himself wrote afterwards—whether it was a monstrous boast or the truth—that they were numerous. I have had no information of the names of the murdered, with the exception of that of the priest of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Father Pelliciajo, also a Dominican. It is said that fourteen corpses were found half buried in the garden of the convent: it is certain that the Government, having had information of these assassinations, sent its officers to save the prisoners who were still alive, on which twelve of them were rescued, in spite of their executioners, and these were all ecclesiastics, priests, and monks.

If my humble talents enabled me to stir up the souls of men, I would wish my pen to be of iron, so that it might here engrave the eternal infamy of those who fill untutored hearts with concupiscence and rage, and give up men to the bottomless pit of injustice which renders eternal the tears and the slavery of nations. But if my pen cannot do this, yet love for Italy constrains it to address the Italian youth who pant for the liberty of their people and of their nation, and to sup-

plicate them to meditate not only on the truths of Christianity, but on those of civil philosophy, and the teachings of history, from which they will learn how a people may be regenerated, and how, under God, nations may be reclaimed, and lasting empires established. Conscience moves you, O noble-minded youth, to cry out to the oppressors that injustice is a bad foundation for them to build upon; that violence destroys, but does not raise up; that blood cries out for blood, and that slavery produces retaliation; and in crying out thus you are Christians, you are Liberals, you are interpreters of the law of God, which manifests itself invariably in the events of the world. But if, on the other hand, you lend a favouring ear to the counsels of those who long for an opportunity of laying hands, in their turn, upon the property and the lives of their adversaries, you become participators in the very doctrines which form the creed of the oppressors who are trampling you under foot, you prove yourselves to be hypocrites or tyrants in embryo. Examine into these counsels of extermination that are whispered in your ears, and let it even be granted that your wicked counsellors have regard only to the usefulness and not to the honesty of such deeds; what, in the name of God, is the use of these cold-blooded slaughters? What advantage has France obtained from them?—France, of whom you have your memory full, and whom you are taught to copy servilely because a faction once plunged her in blood! Blood which flowed in torrents; royal blood, priestly blood, the blood of old men, of women, of nobles;—but did France gain any greater liberty there-

by? Does she possess more now since a faction has attempted to restore to honour the memory of a ferocious Dictatorship? Is Europe more free, are wicked priests less intriguing, do kings commit less perjury, has democracy made one step onwards, in consequence of those butcheries and crimes? Democracy was and is checked, stayed in its progress, dishonoured by Mob rule, which is government by a faction and not by the people, and which has as little flavour of democracy, as vice has of virtue, or the axe of liberty. For Mob rule is a gross sensualism, which, as it can create nothing in the intellectual sphere, because it is nothing in itself, in like manner can create nothing in the civil sphere; even for the work of destruction to which it is suited, it cannot long avail in this our day, because in the conflict of muscles and steel it is easily overpowered by armies. So that those persons show gross ignorance, who, boasting themselves worshippers of an idea, preach at the same time the miracles of the dagger, thus filling the vocation of destroyers rather than of reformers. It is of great importance, therefore, that the good, who desire to raise the people from the ignominy of servitude and ignorance, should wage war, by their teachings and example against the seductions, the follies, and the perfidy of those who have hitherto profaned all joyful anticipations of national redemption with fiery dreams of civil bloodshed and promises of booty and atrocious violence. Utopias of every kind, struggles between Republicans and Royalists, between Conservatives and Democrats, are indeed baneful; they have hindered and retarded, they will impede the re-

demption of Italy, yet they may be remedied or modified, but the corruption of the moral sense on which Mob rule is founded, is irretrievable, because such corruption destroys the reputation, the dignity, and the honour of that people amongst whom it fixes itself; it is the infallible mother of reaction and of the most cruel oppressions. I know well that some will ask, of what account in the annals of a revolution are the assassinations perpetrated in the provinces, or the few priests massacred by a Zambianchi in San Calisto? And how can Europe, they add, how can France cast reproaches on us?—Europe, which witnessed the flagrant acts of vengeance of Vienna and of Pesth—France, which boasts the benefits of a revolution in which the axe reigned supreme? Let us understand each other. Civilised history does not give the statistics of victims, nor of massacres, but by the light of eternal principles it aims at distinguishing, in the facts which it narrates, the good from the evil, the honest from the base, the useful from the pernicious; it aims at training the mind in those virtues, and enlightening the intellect by those truths, whence generations yet to come may derive strength to restore the Italian people to honour, the States to liberty, and the country to a being amongst the nations. One injustice, one crime—a single crime, a single injustice—committed against these principles, reckon and prove as much as a thousand, when they spring from that perversion of the sense of the just and the honest which can generate thousands. As it is evident, then, from what has been related in the course of this narrative, that the germ exists, and that in the

countries of which I write it has brought forth many bitter fruits and is ripening more; and that there are those who cherish it, who promise themselves from it miracles of Italian resurrection and the emancipation of the laity, it is imperative upon me to stamp with infamy the crimes which I have related, and the names of the criminals with which I would not stain these pages if it could be otherwise, for we do not pick the names of common executioners out of the mire, and in the mire I would leave those of Zambianchi and his fellows, if the frenzy of factions did not honour the corruption which creates and fosters them.

So, too, as I am discussing this painful subject and approaching the conclusion of the task which I have undertaken, the reader will pardon me, if, with my thoughts intent on that province of Italy in which I was born, and which, as the seat of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, is of great importance in Italy and in Europe, I allude to those aberrations of the moral sense, of the sense of right, and, I may say, of common sense, or even of vulgar instinct, which to some may appear unworthy not only of confutation, but of mention. I mean, how hatred to ecclesiastical rule is turning every day more and more into hatred to the clergy, so that threats of a general slaughter are whispered about; how, going further and further in this direction, the crimes of priests are imputed to religion and a ready ear given to those madmen who would put rationalism in the place of religion, and themselves in the place of the Pope. Now this bias, which they try to give to the youth of Italy and

the populace, is not only wicked but ridiculous, for the whole body of the priesthood cannot be destroyed in a State, much less in a nation; and if such a thing could happen, the clergy would survive in other countries, and if they were to be rooted out of Europe, they would be found existing in America and in Australia; and if they were to be destroyed throughout all the earth, they would soon rise again from their ashes; for the faithful, who, failing a hierarchy and priesthood, are the Church, would themselves consecrate priests, so that, in order to destroy the clergy, the Church must be destroyed, and whether that is a work to be accomplished by a few madmen, I leave to the judgment of all who have common sense to decide, let them believe or not believe in the Church of Christ and its eternal destinies. Woe to Italy, if her youth do not cast away these impieties, these barbarous, these wicked follies!

At the same time that the reputation of the Roman Government was declining daily, through crimes designedly exaggerated by the foreigners who opposed it, its authority in the State also declined more and more. Wimpffen was at Ancona, and had desired the authorities to let him occupy it; and when the President had signified their determination to resist, he besieged it by land, while the ships attacked and blockaded it by sea. On the 25th of May the combat began, and the youth and the people of Ancona, who had betaken themselves in great numbers to the defence, in the absence of troops, showed greater bravery than their commander Zambeccari showed experience and skill in guiding and directing them. The Roman Govern-

ment was not in a state to give them any aid, and the minister Avezzana, who had gone in that direction, was not permitted to enter the city. The lands and villages in the neighbourhood of Ancona were already in possession of the Austrians, and they levied contributions on them at their pleasure. It was Alpi who acted as Commissary. The resistance of Ancona lasted twenty days; the defenders attempted sallies, but with little success; and the assailants, by means of cannon, of which they possessed an abundance, conquered with little difficulty; but it was thought that if they had had a better general than Zambeccari, Ancona might have been able to make a longer resistance. The citizens surrendered by capitulation, on the terms stipulated by the Municipality. The Austrians pursued the same course, and made the same provisions, as they had done a little while before at Bologna. Thanks to them, Cardinal de Angelis was set at liberty, with the relations of the Pope, and of Monsignor Bedini, who, by way of reprisal, according to the usual fashion and morals of reprisals, had been seized in Sinigallia, and sent captives to Ancona. Monsignor Savelli was then sent to Ancona as Pontifical Commissioner to govern the Marches. Alpi made his entrance with the Austrians as head of the Commissariat and Commissioner for reprisals, and soon made himself notorious. He was pleased to take up his lodging in the palace of Prince Simonetti, and having asked which were the rooms that had been occupied by Don Annibale, who had been the adviser and Minister of Pius IX., he desired to have them placed at his disposal, although the servants

informed him that their master was expected. He did arrive shortly after, and remonstrated with his guest, who would not accept any other lodging within or without the palace; and because, having remonstrated in vain, he may have made use of some expressions fitting for an Alpi, he was arrested and in broad daylight led to prison, whilst the Austrian to whom he appealed condemned him to be shot, if he did not make an apology. Thus the allies of the Pope paid their debt of gratitude towards those estimable men, who had assisted the Pope with their counsel and courageous acts in most difficult times. Simonetti appealed to Gaeta, and received courteous words, of which this was the result, that in a little time Alpi was raised to an important post in the administration of the State.

CHAPTER IX.

M. DE RAYNEVAL AT THE CAMP.—NOTE FROM HIM TO LESSEPS.—HIS ANSWER.—TERMS PROPOSED TO THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT BY LESSEPS AND OUDINOT.—DELIBERATIONS AND PROPOSALS OF THE TRIUMVIRS.—MOVEMENTS OF GENERAL OUDINOT.—DEMANDS MADE BY LESSEPS.—HIS NOTE.—DECLARATIONS MADE BY THE GENERAL.—MEETING AND COMPLAINT OF THE GENERALS.—ANSWER MADE BY LESSEPS.—ANGRY WORDS OF OUDINOT.—RESOLUTION TAKEN BY HIM.—FRESH APPEALS.—LESSEPS AT ROME.—HIS STIPULATIONS WITH THE TRIUMVIRS.—LESSEPS RETURNS TO THE CAMP.—ANGER OF GENERAL OUDINOT.—OPEN DISAGREEMENT.—ORDERS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—INTIMATION OF WAR.—STATE OF THE FRENCH ARMY.—FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC.—ADVICE OF COLONEL LE BLANC ON THE ATTACK OF ROME.—PLAN OF GENERAL VAILLANT.—IT IS APPROVED.—SURPRISE BY THE FRENCH.—ENGAGEMENTS OF THE 3RD OF JUNE.—WORKS OF APPROACH.—ATTEMPTS OF THE ROMANS TO DESTROY THEM.—SALLIES.—INSTANCES OF BRAVERY.

As soon as M. de Rayneval, who was the most eager of all the French Envoys and Ambassadors that the army should enter Rome, knew that M. Lesseps was still endeavouring to keep it back, and was about to open fresh negotiations, he went to him from Gaeta, on the 27th of May, and thus addressed him, first by word of mouth, and then in writing:—

"Since you have been pleased to confide to me fully all your ideas, your intentions, and your proceedings, I have not only to thank you for the trust you have placed in me, but to reciprocate it by putting you in full possession of my thoughts. My

personal opinion is of little importance; but the Government of the Republic, by formally inviting you to confer with me as its Plenipotentiary at the Conference of Gaeta, did not certainly intend that language and conduct of two different kinds should be observed here. Now I maintain that you have not avoided this error, which is a very great one in my estimation, because it places the honour and good faith of our country in question. And I also maintain that you act without taking account of antecedents, under the guidance of your own inspirations, and without any written order from Government.

"You differ entirely from M. d'Harcourt and me, and you rely only on the knowledge (important certainly) which you have of the intentions of the Government of the Republic, in conformity with the most recent dates, and you decide as supreme arbiter, fettering the army.

"At first you pushed on the negotiations so fast, that you ran in the face of obstacles which appear to me to be as perilous as those of which you stood in fear; but you have appealed to the supreme judgment of the Government, and it is right to await its decision, which I hope will soon arrive.

"It may be that the people of Rome will open the gates of their city to us, but they will delay the longer, the more inactive they see the army; and by the conditions which you have proposed, the question, instead of advancing to a solution, will be delayed.

"I protest with all the force of my conviction against those conditions. They not only compel us to recognise a Government which the Republic has formally declared it will not recognise, but they oblige us to make an alliance, offensive and defensive, with it. And this is a serious violation of the orders of Government, at least of those with which I am acquainted.

"By those conditions we not only defy the three Powers who have declared war against the Government of Rome, and who are supported by the whole of Europe, but a superior Power, also, which is decreed to have great influence over our destinies —the Papacy.

"Secondly, it is a serious violation of the rules laid down by the Government of the Republic, which has not declared war against Austria, and only wishes to place itself in a condition to make French influence weigh, as it ought to do, in the final settlement of the affairs of Rome.

"By uniting yourself thus with the enemies of the Pope, you compulsorily throw him back, and to a greater degree than ever, under the influence of Austria, and this is not the result which we desire to produce.

"Can it be the intention of France to extend the hand of fellowship to a Government which began by an assassination, and which looks for salvation only from our own intestine disturbances?

"I beg you to observe that, by recognising this Government, we destroy the only basis on which we can plant our feet firmly. If it had been by our aid that this Government had obtained existence—if it had arisen from the free will of the nation, we ought to support it. We have no right to exert ourselves to overthrow it, except it should appear to us to be what it really is, the work of a faction, composed in a great measure of foreigners.

"You fetter the army, and forget the maxim, that if you desire peace you must prepare for war. You expose the army to laxity of discipline and disease; the army—which longs to prove what it can accomplish, which pants to cast another ray of glory on the French name—the army is condemned to capitulate. Whilst it remains inactive before the walls of Rome, the Austrians are advancing, and the Pope is very likely to go to Bologna, to re-establish the seat of his authority there, beneath their shield.

"Should we be in a position to address the Austrians and the Pope in language befitting France, as long as we remained before the walls of Rome, even were it permitted us as a favour to share the posts of the city with Roman soldiers? We should have no resource against the first, excepting violence, an extreme measure, which would be perfectly ineffectual against the latter.

"Popular Assemblies, in countries like this, do not possess the moral force which they may have amongst us, because every one knows that in Italy the population is incapable of expressing its wishes in this manner. By leaving the people to decide on the future fate of the Roman States we declare implicitly that we do not any longer recognise the sovereignty of the Pope, at the same time that we have solemnly announced to Europe that we will respect the territorial divisions laid down in treaties.

"I am by no means alarmed at the proceedings of Protestant Missionaries. They may create discord; nothing more.

"One word more on the Kingdom of Naples. You expose it to be overrun by those bands which our invasion sets free. Does the Government of the Republic wish, then, that the Italian agitations, hardly put down in the north, in the centre, and in Sicily, should recommence at Naples? I have said sufficient to prove to you that I am grieved at the turn which affairs have taken. I should deplore, equally with you, that a way should be opened for the Pope, stained with blood, and covered with ruins. That need not be. In my opinion, a firm attitude assumed by the army, an attack, with no other result than the fall of a few old walls, would have constituted us masters of the other quarters of Rome, and would have determined the population to declare itself in our favour. At any rate, we should have secured ourselves a strong position, and a healthy situation, satisfactory to our national pride, and to the necessity of our policy. Sooner or later we should have been received into Rome without conditions. The Romans would have been touched by our generosity, and we should not have then had to struggle against promises impossible to be maintained, and which seriously compromise us in the face of all Europe, as will be the case if you succeed in your intentions.

"I have thought it my duty formally to decline all responsibility as to what has been done since your arrival. But I will not conclude without rendering homage to your zeal and your motives, or without begging you to consider my extreme frank-

ness as a proof of my confidence, and of a friendship now of no recent date."

M. Lesseps answered, that he had conducted himself towards Messieurs d'Harcourt and de Rayneval in a manner conformable with the nature and terms of his instructions, and that he had not been able to follow the example and rules laid down by them, because they had failed of success at the Court of Gaeta, and because the event of the 30th of April, and the consequent resolution of the French Assembly, had obliged him to change his line of action; he had checked the impetuosity of the army, in order to prevent conflicts which would have been productive of greater profit to the enemies of France, abroad and at home, than to her own glory and influence over Italy. On the other hand, he had told Government the whole truth, and was waiting for orders. "I had not," he said, "as great a wish as General Oudinot feels to move the troops into Rome, because it appeared to me that it would be prudent to moderate the passions exasperated by the affair of the 30th of April, and because, in my opinion, it was perilous to run the risk of interfering in the administration of the State. I have not recognised the Roman Republic. I have not proposed very different terms from those which the proclamations issued by General Oudinot implied. I have had communications with the Government of Rome, because I was sent hither to negotiate with the authorities in Rome and with the people. I have not provoked or defied the Powers who commenced war against Rome. I have obeyed the orders

of Government, which did not wish to make common cause either with the Neapolitans or the Austrians, who had interposed in the affair, and had taken up arms with different, if not contrary, intentions to ours. The Pope must comprehend that France alone can establish his temporal authority, by placing it on the basis of liberty and the consent of the people. His throne, raised upon corpses, would but slide down the slippery plane of revolutions."

M. Lesseps went on to confute the objections of M. de Rayneval by the same arguments which he had already addressed to his Government, and concluded by saying he would take upon himself the whole responsibility of what he had done; and as he had received news from Rome that the Assembly was inclined to come to terms, he had a conversation with General Oudinot, and tried to persuade him that, as the Austrians were advancing, and it was desirable to endeavour to bring the affair to a speedy conclusion, it would be well to make final proposals to the Roman Government. Accordingly, they agreed on the following Declaration:—

"The undersigned, Ferdinand de Lesseps, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, on a mission at Rome:

"Considering that the advance of the Austrian troops into the Roman States changes the relative situation of the French army in Rome:

"Considering that the Austrians, advancing upon Rome, might render themselves masters of positions perilous to the French army:

"Considering that the prolongation of the present state of

inaction, to which the Commander-in-Chief, General Oudinot de Reggio, had consented, might cause injury to the French army:

"Considering that no communication has been addressed to him since his last note to the Triumvirate, bearing date the 26th of this month:

"Invites the authorities and the Roman Constituent Assembly to declare themselves on the following Articles:—

"Art. I. The Romans request the protection of the French Republic.

"Art. II. France does not contest the right of the Roman population to pronounce freely on the form of government.

"Art. III. The French army shall be received by the Romans as a friendly army; it shall take up its quarters in situations which shall be deemed suitable, as much for the defence of the city as the health of the troops; it shall not interfere with the administration of the country.

"Art. IV. The French Republic guarantees the territories occupied by its troops from all foreign invasion.

"Finally, the undersigned, in concert with the Commander-in-Chief, Oudinot de Reggio, declares, that in case these Articles are not immediately accepted, he shall regard his mission as terminated, and the French army will reassume all its freedom of action.

"Given at the Head-quarters of the French Army, Villa Santucci, 29th May, 1849.

(Signed) "Ferdinand de Lesseps.
(Countersigned) "Oudinot de Reggio."

M. Le Duc, Secretary to M. Lesseps, was charged to convey this declaration to Rome, and to state that a period of twenty-four hours, which would terminate at midnight on the 30th, was granted, for the answer to be given.

The Triumvirs, who had sent Accursi again to Paris, to treat rather with their enemies than with the Go-

vernment, having only so short a time to deliberate, considered the most prudent course they could pursue would be to gain time, and therefore to devise articles which should leave the way open for negotiations. Accordingly they proposed this scheme:—

"Art. I. The Romans, confiding as fully as ever in the friendship and fraternal support of the French Republic, request the cessation of even the appearance of hostilities, and the re-establishment of those good offices and relations which ought to be the expression of that fraternal support.

"Art. II. The French army shall be regarded by the Romans as a friendly army, and shall be received as a friend. The army shall take up its quarters, in accordance with the wishes of the Roman Government, in situations which shall be deemed suitable, as much for the defence of the city as the health of the troops, and it shall not interfere with the administration of the country. Rome is sacred to its enemies as to its friends, and does not constitute any portion of the quarters which the French army will select. Its own brave population are its best defence.

"Art. III. The French Republic guarantees the territories occupied by its troops against all foreign invasion."

But whilst these schemes were on foot, General Le Vaillant arrived from Paris at the French camp, as the harbinger of impending orders for war; in consequence of which General Oudinot threw a bridge over the Tiber on the night of the 29-30th, posted an advanced guard at San Paolo, and moved his troops forward. Lesseps, on learning this, wrote to him and said, that if he began the assault without his consent, he must take upon himself all the responsibility of the consequences which might ensue, and reminded him that he could not act as he chose, until Government had given him

leave. But Oudinot directed the Generals and Commanding Officers to make preparations for an attack on the suburbs of Rome the following night.

M. Lesseps then informed him of the answer made by the Romans, and sent M. Espivent to him with the following note:—

"As I left Paris under the impression caused by the affair of the 30th of April, and came here to treat with the people of Rome, I need not remind you that I have never wished or allowed my cause to be separated from that of my Government, and of the honourable head of the French army. I did not disguise from myself all the difficulties which I had to surmount, in order to succeed in persuading the Romans that the intentions of the Government of the Republic and of its General were identical, both before and after the 30th of April. I have this very day obtained the object I had in view.

"I am disposed to sign at once, with the exception of some modifications, principally in the 2nd article, the counter proposal sent by the Triumvirate, and therefore approved by the Constituent Roman Assembly, as well as by the Municipality. I am convinced that this act will assure French influence in Italy for ever, and will maintain the honour of our army and of our glorious flag."

As soon as he had read this note and the document which accompanied it, General Oudinot exclaimed: "I will never sign a page so shameful for France!" sent back both the note and the document to the Envoy, and invited him to attend a meeting of the Generals. M. Lesseps having joined it, and narrated exactly how affairs had progressed, saw sour faces, and heard soldier-like reproaches. "Wait, still wait!" cried some; "wait for the hot season and its fevers, which in a fortnight will mow down its victims in the camp! wait

until the compassion of our enemies, assisted by this invulnerable ally, shall give us, as a favour, a winding-sheet for our soldiers laid low by fever! Do you not fear, lest France should one day ask you, as Rome once demanded of Varro, 'What have you done with my legions?'" To which the Envoy replied, that by transferring the camp to Frascati and Albano, the troops would not run any risk of malaria; that by encircling Rome, they would be as much masters of the city as if they occupied it; that the Government desired they should enter Rome, only on condition that the people desired it, and therefore the Government would be indebted to them, if, by prudent counsels, they could moderate the martial spirit of the army, its susceptibility, and appetite for glory. But General Oudinot, with excited voice and manner, exclaimed: "I confess that I shall indeed give a proof of self-control if I succeed in keeping within bounds, whilst answering the strange expressions which have been uttered by French lips! You ask us, Sir, what hinders us from abandoning the camp, and carrying our tents far from Rome? I will tell you, Sir, what prevents us; the interests of France, whom we represent, forbid us; yes, France, whom we represent with the sword, while you fancy that you are representing her by your words, and in a little while, France will be able to judge which has served her best—our swords or your words. Meantime, the honour of the French name, and the glory of our arms, require that the mind of France should be expressed freely *there*—on the Capitol. To

pitch our tents without the walls of Rome would be to give a proof of weakness; to encircle a city is *not* equivalent to taking possession of it; we must hoist the standard of our country on its highest towers. We leave the future judgment of your counsels to history, the present judgment of them to our Government; in the meantime I declare to you, in the name of all my brethren in arms, that it would be a shameful piece of cowardice in us to follow your advice." And he concluded with such a gesture, and such an uproar arose among the Generals against the Envoy, that all discussion was broken off. The General then gave definite orders for the attack of the suburbs of the city at three o'clock on the following morning; but M. Lesseps went to him later in the day, and after having entreated and expostulated with him in vain, exclaimed: "Well, do you intend, then, to violate the rights of nations, in the face of all Europe, by resuming the attack before you have announced the termination of the truce?" To this remonstrance the General yielded, and revoked the orders he had given for the attack, but they did not arrive in time to prevent Monte Mario from being occupied. On the morning of the 31st it seemed as if the ill-feelings which had been excited were somewhat softened, and Lesseps left for Rome, saying that he was going there to frame the articles of agreement; accordingly he went to the Triumvirs, excused the General for the occupation of Monte Mario, and stipulated:—

"Art. I. The support of France is guaranteed to the popu-

lation of the Roman States; they consider the French army as a friendly army which has come to assist in the defence of their territory.

"Art. II. In accordance with the wishes of the Roman Government, and without interfering with the administration of the country, the French army will take up exterior quarters, in situations suited as much to the defence of the country itself as to the health of the troops. The communications will be free.

"Art. III. The French Republic guarantees the territories occupied by its troops from all foreign invasion.

"Art. IV. It is understood that the present agreement is to be subject to ratification by the French Republic.

"Art. V. The effects of the present agreement shall not cease, in any case whatever, until a fortnight after the notice, officially given, of ratification being refused."

The Assembly approved of these terms, and the Triumvirs informed the Envoy of its decision; they announced to him that on the next day it would send Deputies to the camp to make the necessary arrangements with the General, and to invite him to come and take up his quarters in Rome with his Staff and a Guard of Honour. M. Lesseps hastens to the camp in the middle of the night, and is admitted into the General's presence. "At last we have brought things to a termination," he exclaims, and reads the articles of the agreement. When he had read the second article which appointed the quarters of the army to be outside the walls, "I never will sign," cried the Duke de Reggio, in a passion, and jumping out of bed; "you a Frenchman," he said, "what do I say, Sir? You an Envoy of France, and you have, Sacre! acceded to those conditions;" then, swelling with anger, he added: "and

do you dare to bring them into our camp? May my hand wither before I subscribe to such infamy! Enough, Sir, I will listen no longer; leave me!" M. Lesseps, resenting this, answered that the General was insulting the dignity of France by insulting her Envoy; then he signed the agréement, left a copy of it on the table, and returned to Rome. The General, in his turn, wrote to the Triumvirs, and intimated to them that he considered the agreement null and void. M. Lesseps did not, however, change his opinion, but sent a messenger to Paris, and was preparing to follow in person and give an account of what he had done, when he received the following despatch from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated the 29th instant:—

"The Government of the Republic has put a termination to your legation. As soon as you receive this despatch, you will set off for France."

At the same time he sent this despatch to General Oudinot, dated the 28th:—

"The season of fevers being near at hand, all delay will be dangerous. The legation of M. Lesseps is at an end. We confirm our preceding despatch relative to General Vaillant.

"Concentrate your troops, and enter Rome as soon as the attack appears to be certain of success. If you should be in want of reinforcements let me know immediately."

On the 1st of June M. Lesseps set off for Paris, where he was reproved and accused by the Ministers, and censured by the Council of State. The same day General Oudinot declared war, and told Roselli, who asked for a fortnight's truce, that he could not consent to it, because he had received orders to enter Rome as

quickly as possible; he would, however, delay *the attack of the place* (Piazza), *at any rate*, until Monday morning, in order to give those Frenchmen who were residing in Rome, and who wished to leave it, time and opportunity to do so.

The French army, at the end of May, numbered about 35,000 men; it was composed of three divisions, the first of which was commanded by General Regnault St. Jean d'Angely; the second by General Rostolan, and the third by General Guesviller. The Artillery, which consisted of about 60 guns, partly field pieces, and partly for siege purposes, some of which had been taken from Cività Vecchia, was commanded by General Thiry; the Engineers consisted of six companies, under the orders of Vaillant, General of Brigade; pontoniers, sappers and miners, attendants on the sick and gens-d'armes were in abundance. The forces of the Republic, taking into account all the reinforcements which it had received from the troops which had repaired to Rome from the provinces since the 30th of April, did not amount to more than 19,000 men, of which 9500 were infantry, 800 regular cavalry, about 7000 irregular infantry, consisting of volunteers and National Guards, and about 1300 soldiers of the artillery and engineers. Of these soldiers, only 350 were foreigners, Poles, Germans, Americans, and French. The Government, which had raised a legion of Poles, and had given permission to Laviron, a proscribed Frenchman, to enrol a legion of his own countrymen, obtained small aid therefrom, and gave some colour to the falsehoods which asserted that Rome was

defended by foreigners alone. The Italians, not born in the Roman States, did not amount to more than 1800 men. Of artillery they had got together about 100 pieces, of which not more than 60 were brass, the remainder iron; 11 only were of large calibre, the remainder were small, and the greater part very small indeed; not half of them were good, many very bad. They had not a single mortar, but had 50 or 60 rusty one-pounders. At first they were short of powder and ammunition; but during the siege, so great was the activity displayed, that they did not suffer from any want of it. They had also provided a foundry for casting brass; accordingly five pieces of cannon were manufactured during the siege, a piece of industry new to Rome.

Lieutenant-Colonel Le Blanc, who, before the arrival of General Vaillant, had commanded the Engineers of the French army, had arranged to attack Rome in that portion of the Aurelian wall which extends between Monte Testaccio and the left bank of the Tiber; he thought he would be able to make a practicable breach in a week, and render himself master without any difficulty of the Monte Aventino, where he intended to encamp, persuaded that the city must yield to the first vigorous attack. This plan had been approved by the General-in-Chief, and by General Thiry, commanding the Artillery. But General Vaillant, before he left Paris to take the direction of the siege, had already decided to attack Rome on the side of Monte Janiculo, and when he arrived on the spot he did not change his opinion; a Council of War was then

held, in which the order and plan of attack had to be formally arranged, and a discussion took place on the two opinions. General Vaillant said, that if they followed the plan suggested by Colonel Le Blanc, they would not be able to effect a breach in the Aurelian wall in a week, they would require at least twelve days for it; besides, they would have to throw a bridge over the Tiber, a work of some difficulty, and if the plan succeeded, the war might still be continued by the defenders within the walls. Having made this observation, he confessed that by his plan they would have to attack the strongest part of the city walls, therefore the breach could not be carried in less than a fortnight, but since they would thereby get possession of Monte Janiculo, the army would be then so completely masters of the city, that its defenders would neither have the heart nor the means to carry on resistance. So great was the authority which General Vaillant had over the minds of the Council, that even Generals Oudinot and Thiry, who had at first sided with General Le Blanc, changed their minds; for it appeared to them that even though they would have to spend fifteen days instead of twelve in making the breach, yet the certainty of thereby accomplishing the undertaking ought to be preferred to every other advantage. The plan of the siege being settled, General Oudinot gave orders for the attack. But not content with having carried Monte Mario by a surprise during the period of the truce, he did not wait, as he had promised he would, until the morning of the 4th, and justifying the gross violation of his promise by a subtle interpretation of the word *place* (*piazza*), on

the morning of the 3rd he made himself master of the suburbs of Rome by a fresh surprise. About 300 men were posted on guard outside the Porta San Pancrazio, at the Villa Panfili and the adjoining places, when the French suddenly attacked them before dawn, surrounded them, made them prisoners, and took possession of the Villas Panfili, Corsini, Giraud, and Vascello. As soon as the Romans received intelligence of this mishap, they attempted to retake those places, and General Bartolomeo Galletti, who was doing duty instead of Garibaldi, who was indisposed, pushed on some companies of the line, commanded by Colonel Pasi, to the assaults of the Villa Vascello and Villa Corsini, which is called the "Casino de' Quattro Venti," and regained possession of them.

But a short time afterwards they fell again into the hands of the enemy, who had attacked them with artillery posted at the flanks, and were continually sending fresh reinforcements to the attack. Garibaldi hastened thither, though he was still indisposed, and began to lead his troops to battle, a few at a time, pushing them on, wherever the peril was greatest, without any determined plan. These brave men gave striking proofs of courage and audacity, and went in parties of twenty or forty, according to the orders of the General, to the assaults of the villas, which were well defended by the French; the officers fighting as private soldiers, and risking much valuable life in these combats. But boldness being of little avail, when opposed to numbers and discipline, the French were masters of all the villas which surround and command the Porta San Pancrazio by

nine o'clock in the morning. Garibaldi sent reinforcements to the battle frequently, and despatched first one and then another company, now sixty now twenty men to the assault, always directing them to charge the enemy with the bayonet. On one occasion he armed his lancers (hardly fifty in number, and commanded by Masina, a Bolognese) with muskets, and led them towards the Villa Corsini, ordering them to go at full gallop and take possession of it: they charged with such impetuosity that the French became alarmed and retreated, whilst they mounted the steps leading up to the house on horseback; but as they had to hold the place unassisted, they lost it anew, and Masina and almost all of them were killed. In the evening Lieutenant Mangiagalli, with a few picked soldiers, recovered the Villas Corsini and Valentini, killed thirty Frenchmen and took as many others prisoners, but they could only spare forty men to keep guard in one villa and twelve in the other, nor could they obtain any reinforcements from Garibaldi, who had scattered his people in different combats. Three times, at least, the most important positions were taken and lost by the Romans, but at the close of the day the French remained masters of all those of which they had taken possession in the morning. Colonels Daverio, Masina, and Pollini lost their lives in these desperate combats, together with Majors Ramorini and Peralta, Captains Dandolo and David, Lieutenants Cavalleri, Bonetti, Scarani, Grossi, Sorete, and Gazzaniga; others died afterwards of wounds received on that day, amongst whom were the Marquis Mellara, of Bologna, a courageous

soldier and worthy citizen, and Mameli, of Genoa, a youth of much promise; many soldiers were killed, 400 perhaps; of officers and soldiers wounded there were more than 500. Whilst the combat was raging on the Monte Janiculo, the assailants attempted the Ponte Molle, on their left, with the intention of getting possession of the bridge, which had been injured, but not destroyed, by the Romans, then transporting their artillery, after they had repaired it, to the opposite bank of the Tiber, and occupying the Monti Parioli. Up to mid-day the Romans had bravely repulsed the attack, after which time the artillery that thundered from Monte Mario weakened their resistance, and a little while afterwards Bartolucci, who had the command in that engagement, ordered a retreat, so that the French were able, during the night, to restore the bridge at their leisure, and, having passed their artillery, to fortify the *tête-de-pont.* They afterwards constructed a bridge of boats, the same which Colonel Le Blanc had proposed in his plan of attack, to communicate freely with the left bank of the Tiber; and having thus made themselves masters of the places which were necessary for the preliminary works of the siege, they began on the fourth day those of approach.

The Romans, meanwhile, went on making futile efforts to disturb them, by skirmishes which they conducted with success by no means commensurate with their valour. The struggle was carried on principally by the artillery, in the direction and command of which, Calandrelli, Lopez, de Sere, and Stewart, were certainly equal, if not superior, in skill to the French. But the Romans

gained no advantage by their sorties, which were made more under the influence of boldness than of discipline and experience, whilst the French were always on the alert, and observed all the vigilance which is customary in armies well disciplined and commanded. The Romans sallied forth on the 5th and 6th with too much noise and impetuosity; they sallied forth every day to protect the defences, and often fought hand to hand with the enemy. Two companies of the first battalion ventured one day too far from the works, and encountered a large party of French, whom they determined to attack, and did attack with such impetuosity that they drove them beyond the lines of which they made themselves masters, and when their ammunition was exhausted, they continued to pelt them with stones. Stern, a Pole, who had served in Africa with the French, and was decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honour, cried out, "Aim at my breast, aim at this cross, you villains!" and being struck on the head by a bullet, dripping with blood he still cried out, "Fire lower, traitors, fire lower!" and continued to cry out and to shoot till he was killed. A captain belonging to the legion of Manara, who had been wounded in the breast on the 3rd, was resolved, a few days afterwards, to sally forth and fight in the front ranks, and to fire with his carbine, which he well knew how to use; being again wounded, he still went on firing, until his valiant spirit departed with his blood.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANIARDS AT TERRACINA.—DELEGATES FROM THE ARMIES OF SPAIN AND NAPLES TO GENERAL OUDINOT.—OUDINOT'S ANSWER.—PROVISIONS MADE BY THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT.—HYPOCRISY.—RAPINE.—INSTANCES GIVEN.—MENACES OF OUDINOT.—ANSWERS OF THE ASSEMBLY AND THE TRIUMVIRS.—REASONS OF MAZZINI'S OBSTINACY.—HIS FANCIES.—NATURAL CONSEQUENCES OF HIS FANCIES.—OBSERVATIONS.—REMARKS ON THE PARISIAN EVENTS OF THE 13TH OF JUNE.—CONSEQUENCES AT ROME.—RUSCONI'S OPINION.—OBSTINACY.—BOASTING.—OBSERVATIONS.—LETTER OF M. DE COURCELLES.—MAZZINI'S ANSWER.—APPEAL MADE BY THE FOREIGN CONSULS.

About this time, from 6000 to 8000 Spaniards, commanded by General Cordova, loaded with the blessings of the Pope and the caresses of the Court of Gaeta, landed on the Roman territory, and occupied Terracina and the environs, hoping to take part in the siege and in the conquest of Rome. The King of Naples also, when he saw that the negotiations undertaken by Lesseps had failed, and that a violent turn had been given to the French enterprise, imagined that the *Via Sacra* to the triumphs of the Capitol was open to him. On the 7th of June, therefore, Colonel de Agostino, and Lieutenant-Colonel Nunziante, his Aides-de-camp, accompanied Colonel Bunenaga, the Head of the Spanish Staff, to General Oudinot, to offer the aid of the Spanish and Neapolitan troops. The Frenchman

answered that it was the duty of France, as the eldest daughter of the Church, to head the enterprise for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope, which was closely connected with the spiritual power, but that the political situation of France, and the nature of her Government, placed him in a delicate position, and made it incumbent on him to oppose such illiberal measures as might be agreeable to Naples, Spain, and Austria, placed as they were under a different form of government. He had endeavoured at first to conduct himself towards the Romans rather as a pacificator than an enemy; but, since the 30th of April, he had lost all hope of conquering their obstinacy, and had made up his mind to chastise them by force; the advice of M. Lesseps had been the cause of vexatious delay; reinforcements, to a greater amount than necessary, had at last arrived from France, and orders had been sent to commence the attack. He had made himself master of the suburbs of Rome, and the works of approach were already advanced; Rome would soon fall, and the French army would obtain the splendid reparation which was due to its honour. But as that reparation would not be sufficient, unless it were obtained by their own forces, he could not accept the proffered aid; on the contrary, it was his duty to signify that he could not allow any army to approach Rome in the character of an ally; he would be obliged to repel it as an enemy, should it advance. He, therefore, signified to the delegates of the Spanish and Neapolitan armies, as he had already intimated to the Austrian General, that it was the intention of France to make

her entry into Rome by herself. When he had thus spoken, he wrote to General Cordova in the same style.

War having commenced, the Roman Assembly sat in permanence, and the committee of barricades resumed its office of exciting the minds of the citizens and the people, who had been greatly exasperated by the failure of the negotiations undertaken by M. Lesseps, the occupation of Monte Mario, and the breach of the promise made by General Oudinot not to attack Rome until the morning of the 4th. So much so, that on the 3rd of June 7000 Romans were under arms, besides those belonging to the regular troops, or the legion of volunteers. The Government took care to keep up the enthusiasm by an increase of pay to all who were employed in the works; by giving bread to the hungry; providing that the small articles left in pledge in the *Monte di Pietà* should not be sold, and that poor families, who inhabited dwellings exposed to the artillery of the enemy, should be lodged in houses and in palaces secure from injury. Then women of the lower classes were seen gladly abandoning their wretched hovels, and directing their steps towards sumptuous dwellings, where they strutted about amidst the elegances and splendid furniture of the Princesses they had looked upon with envy. Poor creatures! Perhaps they imagined at that moment that Fortune's wheel had turned, and she was about to load them with imperishable gifts. The authorities also took heed to the administration of religious services, because the whim of being the Anti-Pope, or Patriarch, or Prophet,

or I know not what other high priest of I know not what other religion, was constantly fermenting in Mazzini's brain; and thus, as he had formerly wished to celebrate the *Novum Pascha*, he now wanted to celebrate, after his own fashion, the festival of *Corpus Domini*. But whilst performing these acts of devotion, which savoured of impiety to the faithful, of hypocrisy to all, the unbridled and licentious faction which ruled in the streets was active in committing every possible kind of outrage against the priests; and amidst hymns of liberty and greetings of brotherhood, dwellings were broken into, rights were violated, this citizen was insulted in his person, that one in his property, and requisitions for the precious metals were temptations to robbery and a pretext for rapine. These charges are proved by the very proclamations and decrees which the Government issued, in order to prevent and punish such rascality; as also by the fact that some of the persons who were appointed to superintend the requisitions sent in their resignations, and the requisitions themselves were so badly managed and administered that the Commission of Finance would never undertake the office, or be responsible for them. Nor could the Government reduce things to order, however much it may have wished and attempted, for thieves were more powerful than it. As a proof of this assertion, I may mention that a chest of silver had been sealed, on one occasion, in the offices belonging to the Triumvirate, and in the presence of Valentini, a most upright Administrator of the Finances, and that the day after, when he ordered

it to be carried to the Mint, it was found to have been opened and plundered.

General Oudinot having surrounded the city, sent a proclamation to Roselli on the 12th of June, in which he announced to the Romans that if they did not open their gates he would proceed to extremities. To which the Assembly answered, on the following day, that the articles agreed on with M. Lesseps could not be violated without violating the rights of nations. Rome would hold them sacred, until the Government of the French Republic should pronounce definitely upon them, in accordance with the terms of one of the articles; Rome would defend herself against all who dishonoured them, were it only for the honour of France. The Triumvirs added, that they would keep the promise they had made to defend the standard of the Republic, the honour of the country, and the sanctity of the capital of the Christian world.

The obstinacy of Mazzini was not supported (though fanaticism will go great lengths) by any confidence that he felt of being able to conquer the French, and scatter the armies of the Catholic crusade; but by the firm persuasion which he entertained that the Parisian Government would soon be overturned by an insurrection. For Mazzini, who, filled as he is with overweening pride, fancies he is the only man who can restore Rome and Italy, does not view the state of Rome and Italy by the light of national genius and modern civilisation, but evokes the phantasm of a Latin Rome, clothes it with Gallic rags, and moulds a Gallico-Latin system of

universal brotherhood, which, according to him, ought to take the place of the Imperial and Pontifical empires. And this is that hotch-potch which he calls the Rome of the people, the Italy of the future; a hotch-potch which, cleared of fantastic extravagances, signifies and leads to nothing more than that Rome and Italy, not being able to play the principal part in the foundation of this new brotherhood, on account of the misery in which they are plunged, must follow in the track of that Latin nation whose strength is greatest, in whom the popular spirit is most alive, and which is most inured to running the gauntlet of social revolutions. From which it follows, that Mazzini has no right to complain when others propose, first to unite the Latin races, and then proceed to the restoration of Rome and of Italy, and to the emancipation of the West, if not indeed of all Europe; for these men are at least more consistent and logical than he is, and whilst they make profession of doctrines similar to his own, devise means for bringing them into effect, less strange, and, I was going to say, less ridiculous than his, if his did not make one weep. Moreover, the famous idea of Mazzini generates naturally the theory of other innovators, who argue, that, reduced to the straits in which she is, Italy can do nothing of herself, and therefore ought to bow to the dictatorship of French prætorians, and these men are not, in fact, such dreamers as he, though perhaps they may blaspheme a little more; their dream, too, is much less removed from the probable and the possible, than are the Mazzinian castles in the air, as the commencement of this century

has proved. Now, if all these designs, dreams, delirious fancies, or whatever they may be called, are Italian, let any one say who has a drop, not of Latin blood, for we have none of us much of that, but of Italian blood in his veins.

I was saying, then, that Mazzini was reckoning on the prospect of a speedy Parisian insurrection. But the insurrection which had taken place in June, 1848, had been overcome by Cavaignac, and the revolution subdued, more perhaps than he and his friends wished or expected. Now it is not possible that a people, however impetuous and warlike they may be (and as the Parisians are), can recover in a year's time, after they have been beaten and drained of their hottest blood, and gain strength sufficient for a fresh and desperate struggle. On the contrary, history, and the history of France itself, which is in fact the school of revolutions, proves that between one revolution and another, there intervenes at least as much time as is necessary for the growth of new generations and the nurture of new ideas, which may resuscitate old passions. So that speculators on the periodical revolutions of France ought, at all events, to fix on more distant periods for their recurrence, and to count up the dead, the wounded, the imprisoned, the proscribed, the deluded, the worn out, and the corrupted, before they count up the millions of French who, they say, are ready to resist the constituted form of Government. To which, in our case, it may be added, that if a dynasty or a monarchy had inflicted on the Parisian insurrectionists those bloody defeats of June, 1848, it would

perhaps have incurred hatred sufficient to foment a fresh and not distant explosion. But the repression being effected in the name of the Republic, and not having identified hatred with one particular man or family, the living object was wanting, which it seems the people require, in order to feel either hatred or love to any very lively degree. The Republicans could not undermine the edifice they themselves had raised by rebelling against universal suffrage, which having placed the sovereignty in the people, and understood it in the sense which it commonly conveys, ought to command a blind obedience from those who preach it up, and inaugurate the worship of it. Hence, the conscience of the innovators themselves, or at least of the people educated in that worship, could not be greatly edified by the anticipated violence. But whatever may be thought as to that, certain it is, that if a nation had blood, and vigour, and conscience enough to impel it to the barricades every year, it would only be for the sake of its own peculiar rights, or passions, or wants, or follies, not for the sake of passions borrowed from foreigners; it would run risks on its own account, not in the service or at the pleasure of another people. To picture this universal brotherhood of hate, madness, and desperation, is in fact, one of the most fantastic of absurdities, or the most extravagant of impostures. Certain ideas, certain generous and amiable feelings, respecting the rights of nations, for example, are never universal in a people; on the contrary, even amongst the most civilised nations they are the prerogative of the most cultivated and refined portion of

the population, that portion, namely, which thinks and reasons most, but fights least; which hatches many plots, utters many harangues, and fights many newspaper battles, but which does not relish the smell of powder. Go, then, and say to the Parisian people, they ought every year to have their limbs torn with cannon, that their brethren in Rome may have a Republic, and found your designs on these pretences. They will fight for their own; they will fight (not just yet) for their own liberty, or to gratify their own hatred; and if they fight and conquer, he will be the most arrant of fools who shall fancy that they have conquered in order to liberate Italy. I do not know if the day of universal brotherhood will ever dawn on this earth, but I do know that, at present, brethren inclosed within the same walls cut each other's throats; so, before we arrive at brotherhood with the Hottentots, we shall have enough time to devise new systems of politics, and new modes of governing States.

The Rulers of Rome, however, being the slaves of Mazzini, did not rely on history, on reason, and experience, but on the leaders of French factions, who were champing the bit, and trying to break the reins. By turns they inflamed, and perhaps deceived each other. It is said that the least rabid among the Parisians were averse to violence, yet some were making preparations for it, whilst others were satisfied with calling a public meeting to proclaim the Constitution, the fifth article of which had been violated beneath the walls of Rome. Demonstrations such as these, when Governments are on the inclined plane of repression, only push them

quicker down the declivity of reaction, instead of stopping them; therefore, I do not know whether the peaceful demonstration designed by the many, or the armed insurrection attempted by a few, was the more ill judged. The fact is that Changarnier pointed the sword at those who pointed to the Constitution, and trod beneath his horse's feet those who proclaimed it. The Assembly and the Government, threatened but not attacked, on the 13th of June, were exasperated, and thus the conspirators, the violent, the peaceful, and the curious, dispersed, beaten, arrested, and proscribed, facilitated by their imprudent conduct the schemes of the reactionists, and above all the designs of the Catholic party, who wished to restore the Pope, and with him their own fortunes and authority in Rome. The spectre which had raised its head afresh in the streets of Paris on the 13th of June, strode over Europe, magnified by distance, by fame, and by fear; Rome was the last asylum of the monster. Europe hastens thither. Rome is making war on God and on society; there are no longer any jealousies between Governments—the Cossack is the brother of the Parisian. Let Rome perish, or return to its fidelity to the Pope, who is God upon earth; and God is religion, and religion is the primary bond of society. Thus the restoration of the Pope and the clergy became throughout Europe an enterprise undertaken for the preservation of civil and social order, because Governments, as well as individuals, make these illogical syllogisms; both the one and the other thus blaspheme God, as well as rebel against reason.

The events of the 13th of June, predicted and expected in Rome with so much anxiety, and announced at first as a great victory, as soon as the truth became known, produced extreme disappointment. Rusconi, who had written word, previously to their taking place, that no trust should be placed in those revolutionary demonstrations, wrote afterwards, that whilst he was engaged in devising measures which might enable him to aid the cause of Rome by negotiations, "the fatal movement of the 13th had precipitated everything. Ledru Rollin," he said, "had wished to make a pacific demonstration, after having called the people to arms, and a sanguinary reaction is all which has resulted from it. All negotiations are interrupted. The French Government will no longer listen to advice."

And in another letter he said, "After so many days of oscillation and of hopes, all negotiations are broken off, the late movement in France has rendered them impossible."

This last hope taken away, it was clear to every one that the knell of the Mazzinian Republic had inevitably tolled. The city was disheartened, resigned, no longer strong, even in appearance; the zeal of those who laboured at the defences damped; the Republicans themselves discouraged; even the bravest among the combatants wearied; for now they saw that they had risked their lives, and wasted their strength in an enterprise which would bring no advantage to their country, but only increased distress upon Rome. Yet Mazzini could not resolve upon coming to terms, because he was of opinion that the French, even in the

extreme case of conquest by force, would not observe towards him and towards the city the usages of conquering armies; and therefore he wanted to enjoy the sweets of empire to the last, and afterwards, when he had secured his own safety, to proclaim the virtue of his system, and to boast that kingdoms, not republics, condescend to terms. For which obstinacy, which may be characterised as sheer barbarity, since it costs a people their blood, and not even a scratch or a single discomfort to those who harden their hearts, he was lauded by those who deem it an honourable and holy act to sacrifice the lives of men at the shrine of capricious factions, to save, as they say, the honour of their flag, just as formerly it appeared to other fanatics, and still appears to some, a holy thing to burn men's bodies, in order to save their souls. Wherefore the faithful bravos of the Triumvir, the braggadocios and the crack-brained, did not give themselves up for conquered, but, on the contrary, went about making an ostentatious boast of security, as if by violent protestations they could defy fortune, and command victory. They were heard to say that they would lay a train under St. Peter's, and blow it up, together with the Vatican and all the monuments of Catholic faith, and of the empire of the Popes—a mark of hatred which degenerates into madness when it descends from men and institutions to hurl menaces on stones, and on the monuments of the arts. But they were, after all, only signs of fatuity, those daily vows made by the Government, the Assembly, and the Mazzinians, to bury themselves beneath the ruins of Rome,

because superhuman resolves and heroic exhibitions of despair are the fruits of silent and not of loquacious resolutions; they are examples either of pure barbarism or of perfect civilisation, not of a civilisation such as ours, refined in its epithets, feeble in its affections; and I note this, because I think Italians ought to be corrected not only for other vices, but also for this, of employing the resounding phrases of the Homeric muse, which harmonises but ill with the effeminate and mercantile phraseology of modern prose. An age more eager for riches than for liberty and national honour, can still admire savage deeds and cruel devastations, when perpetrated to save the liberty and the honour of a country, but it laughs at resounding vows and at stage heroes. And when it sees that these proclaimers of wonders and of horrors, content themselves, after all, with destroying hedges, gardens, and country-houses, as they did in Rome, and that the most violent amongst them neither lay trains nor set fire to them, but at last slink off to a land of safety, to promise new wonders, and preach new cataclysms, the world looks on and smiles. Away, then, once for all, with these mountebank follies! Mature, Italian youths, your designs in silence, mature them in wisdom and virtue. Study, grow in religion, in purity of life, in health of body and of mind; exercise yourselves in arms, and in that day which the Lord shall send, revenge Italy, and do wonders, and, if it be necessary, make the world tremble by your heroic deeds, but cease to look upon the perils of your country as a show, on its misfortunes as a spectacle! Modest words and proud deeds!

Even the pretext of waiting until the French Government should pronounce publicly upon the articles proposed by Lesseps had no longer any foundation, since M. de Courcelles, the new Envoy of France, had written to M. Degerando the following letter, which was sent by him to the Triumvirs, and by them to the Assembly:—

"Head-quarters, Villa Santucci,
"13th June, 1849.

"Mr. Secretary,

"When I arrived at Head-quarters I found that the Roman Government, in its answer of yesterday to the last intimation made by General Oudinot, had declared that, in its opinion, the renewal of hostilities, before it could be made acquainted with the will of the French Government, relative to the articles agreed upon with M. Lesseps, would be a violation of the rights of nations.

"I maintain that the proceedings of M. Lesseps have been officially condemned ever since the 26th of May, by a letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and that another letter of the 29th of the same month entirely took away all authority from the mission entrusted to M. Lesseps. And if M. Lesseps was recalled on the 29th of May, how could it be in his power, on the 31st of May, to conclude articles, which in any case required ratification, with the Roman Government?

"This is the simple fact as regards the ratification. A new Ministry called into office at the beginning of June, did me the honour to invest me with the mission extraordinary in which I am engaged at the present moment. I left Paris on the 6th of June, a little while after the return of M. Lesseps, and I can therefore affirm anew, that the Government of which I am the interpreter, did not hesitate for a moment to reject the articles of which I speak.

"The narration of these facts, my presence in the camp, the powers with which I am accredited, sufficiently testify that the Roman Government would be very much mistaken, if it ima-

gined it could justify the continuance of a resistance so contrary to the true cause of Roman liberty and to the interests which it fancies it is defending, in the expectation of an impossible ratification. It is my opinion, Sir, that you ought, in every possible way, to confute this error of the Roman Government; France has only one object in view in this painful struggle; viz. the liberty of the revered Head of the Church, the liberty of the Roman States, the peace of the world. The mission which has been entrusted to me is essentially liberal, and is protective of the people reduced to such extremities. My instructions are entirely conformable to those of General Oudinot."

Mazzini sent a reply to this letter, dated the 15th :—

"Sir,

"The letter which M. de Courcelles has written to you, under date of the 13th, and which you have been pleased to communicate to me, does not invalidate, in any degree, the resolution taken by the Roman Constituent Assembly, and this you must have seen at a glance. The date of such and such French despatch signifies little; it is of small importance whether M. Lesseps was or was not re-called when he subscribed his name to the Convention of the 31st of May. One single word is a reply to everything. The Assembly knew nothing; it never received an official communication of those despatches.

"The diplomatic question is thus laid down by us. M. Lesseps was Minister Plenipotentiary of France on a mission at Rome. He was as much so on the 31st of May, so far as we are concerned, as he was before. Nothing had reached us which could make us think otherwise. We therefore treated with him bonâ fide, as though we were treating with France herself. And this confidence cost us the occupation of Monte Mario on the night of the 28-29 May. Engaged with M. Lesseps in a discussion purely pacific in its character, being heartily desirous to avoid everything which might precipitate the minds of any towards a solution contrary to our wishes, and not

being able to bring ourselves to believe that France would initiate its protectory mission by the siege of Rome, we remained passive. At every fresh movement made by the troops—at every partial movement, tending to restrict the military cordon, and to advance, step by step, to positions which otherwise we should have been well able to defend, M. Lesseps told us that the French Generals were only desirous to allay the fierce excitement of their troops, wearied of inactivity. He entreated us, in the name of the two nations and of humanity, to avoid all hostile encounters, to place entire confidence in him, and not to fear the consequences. We yielded willingly. For my own part, I am sorry now we did, not, however, that I fear for Rome, because within her walls are the courageous breasts which will defend that which good positions would otherwise have protected. The Convention between M. Lesseps and ourselves was signed on the 31st of May, at eight o'clock in the evening; he then took it to the camp, assuring us that he looked upon the signature of General Oudinot as a mere formality, about which there was not the least doubt. We were all overjoyed. Things began to resume their natural course between France and ourselves.

"General Oudinot's despatch, containing his refusal to sign the treaty, and reiterating his conviction that M. Lesseps, in signing it, had overstepped his powers, reached us, I think, in the night.

"A second despatch, dated the 1st of June, at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, and signed by the aforesaid General, declared to us on his part, *that the event had justified his determination, and that in two despatches, emanating from the Minister of War, and from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and dated the 28th and 29th May, the French Government announced to him that the mission of M. Lesseps had come to a termination.*

"Twenty-four hours were granted us for accepting the ultimatum of the 29th May. On the same day, M. Lesseps, as you know, sent us a communication in which he said, '*I maintain the Convention signed yesterday, and I am going*

to Paris to have it ratified; this Convention has been framed in virtue of my instructions, which directed me to devote myself exclusively to the negotiations and the relations to be established with the Roman authorities and the people.'

"Later on the same day, General Oudinot declared that hostilities would be renewed, *but that upon the request of the Secretary of the French Embassy, the attack of the Place* (Piazza) *would be delayed at least until Monday morning.* On Sunday the attack took place, and the consequence of this breach of promise was the occupation of Villa Panfili, and the seizure of two companies who were cut off outside the walls; the number of them figures, no doubt, in the Gazette of the 3rd.

"These two hundred men, surprised in their sleep, are now at Bastia, in Corsica, with the twenty-four prisoners made the same day.

"Now, we wish to know, Sir, of what avail to us was your despatch of the 26th of May, quoted for the first time in the letter of M. de Courcelles? Of what avail to the Roman Government, the despatches quoted by General Oudinot? We have never seen those despatches; their contents are entirely unknown to us; they were never officially communicated. We have on the one hand the assertions made by General Oudinot, on the other those of the French Plenipotentiary, which entirely contradict each other. It is incumbent on France to explain this, in such a manner as will save her honour. Our Assembly has thought right, in deciding between a Minister Plenipotentiary and the General of an armed force, to defer to the statement made by the Plenipotentiary. I believe that it has acted properly, and I request you to observe, Sir, that it was not until to-day, the tenth since the siege of Rome began, that the presence of M. de Courcelles at the camp, in the quality of Envoy Extraordinary, has been officially, though indirectly, made known to us.

"Consider the dates of the official Notes; compare them with the date of the occupation of Monte Mario, and the operations of the French arms, and tell me, Sir, if Europe will not be constrained to say, when she examines coolly into

the diplomatic question—The French Government intended nothing else but to mock the Roman Government. General Oudinot profited dishonourably by the confidence placed in him by those who compose it, to narrow the circle of attack, occupy favourable positions, and secure the possibility of taking the city by surprise. It follows, consequently, that either the Despatch of the 26th does not exist, or else it was not communicated in time to M. Lesseps. In point of fact, the despatch of the 29th of May was known at the French camp on the morning of the 1st of June. The despatch of the 26th might, therefore, have been in General Oudinot's possession from the 29th of May.

"If the Commander-in-Chief did not produce it at that time, in order to suspend both the negotiations and the negotiators, we must suppose that he wished to take advantage of that species of negotiations which were paralysing the vigilance and the forces of the Roman people, and thereby make himself master by degrees of all the most important positions, without meeting with any resistance; certain as he was, that by producing the despatch of the 26th, he could cancel any terms which did not please him, and could break through any armistice, the moment he was ready to act.

"Permit me to say to you, Sir, with the frankness which befits an honest man, that the conduct of the Roman Government has never deviated by a hair's breadth from the path of honour during the whole course of these negotiations. The French Government cannot say as much. We do not, thanks to God, speak of France—that brave and generous nation is, equally with ourselves, the victim of a vile intrigue.

"Your cannons are thundering this day against our walls, your bombs are raining down upon the Holy City. France has had the glory this night of killing a young girl of Trastevere, who was sleeping beside her sister.

"Our young officers, our improvised soldiers, our town's-people, fall beneath your fire, crying out, 'Long live the Republic!'

"The courageous soldiers of France fall beneath ours, with-

out a cry, without a murmur, like dishonoured men. I am certain there is not one amongst them who, dying, does not exclaim, as one of your deserters did to us to-day: '*We feel in ourselves a something as though we were fighting against brethren.*'

"And why should this be? Neither you nor I can tell. France has no conquest to make here, she is fighting against men who love her, and who but yesterday put their trust in her. She is seeking to set on fire a city that has never harmed her, without political object, without any manifest aim, without any rights to reclaim, without any mission to fulfil. She plays the part of Austria by her generals, except that she has not the courage to confess it. She soils her flag in the scum of the unprincipled Convocation at Gaeta, and she shrinks at the sight of a free and simple declaration of the restoration of clerical rule. M. de Courcelles no longer speaks of anarchy and faction; he does not dare, but, like an embarrassed man, he employs this unintelligible phrase: '*France has in view the liberty of the revered Head of the Church, the liberty of the Roman States, the peace of the world.*'

"We know, at any rate, why we fight; and that makes us strong. If France represented, as we do, a principle, one of those ideas which form the greatness of a nation, and which have formed hers, the valour of her sons would not fail when they have to face our young recruits.

"Alas, Sir, how sad the page which the hand of your Government is tracing at this moment in the history of France! This is a murderous blow directed against the Papacy, which you drown in blood, in your attempts to support it; it is an unfathomable abyss, opened between two nations intended to be united for the safety of the world, and who have been stretching out the hand of fellowship to each other for centuries. It is a grievous blow to the moral force of the relations between one nation and another, to the common feeling that ought to guide them in the holy cause of liberty, which is kept alive by confidence in the future, not of Italy (her sufferings are a baptism of progress for her), but of France, who will not

be able to keep her place in the foremost rank, if she repudiate the manly virtues of confidence in liberty, and sympathy with it."

Thus the Triumvir wrote, and the Assembly applauded, and the artillery went on bombarding the walls of Rome. The Foreign Consuls, moved by the requests of the Government and the loud complaints of the city, appealed in vain to the French General, and besought him to abstain from throwing bombs, which occasioned injury to the monuments, death and fear to the peaceful inhabitants.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COURT OF GAETA —THE ENVOYS.—POLICY OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT.—MISSION OF BALBO AT GAETA —OPINION OF THE POPE AND OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI.—REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY BALBO.—INTERVIEW OF BALBO WITH THE KING OF NAPLES AND THE GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY —ANNOYANCES INFLICTED ON ROSMINI.—NARDONI —ELECTION OF BERNETTI.—OPPOSITION OF FRANCE.—VARIOUS SCHEMES.—DISCORD IN THE ROMAN CAMP.—ROSELLI.—HIS PLANS.—GARIBALDI.—HIS SELF-WILL.—ATTACK OF THE FRENCH ON THE 21ST OF JUNE.—THEY ENTER BY THE BREACH.—MOB MEETING AND UPROAR RAISED BY STERBINI.—NOTE FROM MAZZINI TO MANARA —INSTANCES OF ASTONISHING CONSTANCY, VALOUR, AND RESOLUTION.—THE NIGHT OF THE 29TH OF JUNE.—MASSACRE.—SITTING OF THE ASSEMBLY.—MOTION MADE BY CERNUSCHI.—MAZZINI.—HIS ADVICE.—GARIBALDI.—RESOLUTION —MAZZINI'S ANGER.—GARIBALDI AT THE PIAZZA SAN PIETRO.—PROPOSALS OF THE MUNICIPAL MAGISTRATES TO OUDINOT.—LAST ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.—TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION PROMULGATED FROM THE CAPITOL.

When the Court of Gaeta heard the report of the artillery which was bombarding the walls of Rome, its courage rose once more, for all was now progressing according to the wishes of the Catholic party, which, having acquired increased reputation in France, was increasing in pride throughout all Europe, and set no bounds to its ambition. The French troops, who had pitched their tents in the midst of the courtiers, were indeed an eyesore to them; but they had serviceable allies in their own obstinacy in resisting liberal councils,

craftiness in evading their promises, patience in biding their time, and the art of temporising with events; and they trusted that, if they could not avoid the perils of a burdensome protection, they might at any rate ensnare with promises and deceive with appearances. Amongst the Foreign Ambassadors, with the single exception of the French, who never hoped to derive any advantage from timid counsels, there was not one who was not tractable. Naples egged on the Court; Tuscany yielded to the Austrian embrace; the King of Piedmont alone, with Massimo d'Azeglio as his minister, unwilling that free institutions should perish in Rome without commending them to the care of the Pope who had inaugurated them, sent the illustrious Cæsar Balbo, whose religion is as firm as is his faith in the liberty and the destinies of the nation, to the Pope as advocate for the liberal party. Balbo was accordingly admitted to an interview with Pius IX., and Cardinal Antonelli, who received him with great courtesy; he then endeavoured to persuade them that the throne, the peace of the people, and the honour of the prince, could only be secured by establishing liberal institutions. But both the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli were of a contrary opinion; they alleged the *want of training* in the people, the desire of the *good* not to make any fresh trial of those institutions on which they laid the blame of all the evils which had taken place, and the *incompatibility* or *quasi-incompatibility* (so they said) *of the Constitution with the free exercise of the spiritual power.* Balbo replied, that *the training of the people could only be effected*

by the practice of that which it is desirable to teach them; that if any desired the annulling of the Statute, they were not *the good; the few who entertained retrograde opinions ought not to be reckoned; they were not worth anything, they had never done anything for His Holiness.* Balbo then reasoned at length on their argument of the *incompatibility* of constitutional government with the free exercise of the spiritual power, animated by those liberal principles which, conjoined with profound reverence for the power of the keys, influence all his opinions; but his arguments produced no effect.

He had also a similar mission to fulfil towards the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and to urge them to follow the example of Victor Emmanuel. The first was courteous, and promised to resume his usual diplomatic relations with Piedmont, but gave no other sign of acquiescence; and the second, though he received Balbo with smiles, showed that his mind was full of suspicion. When Balbo congratulated him on having restored the Statute, the Grand Duke exclaimed, as if disdaining the praise, "*And what did you, gentlemen, think of me?*" Then, speaking of the political bias of Piedmont, he added "*it is necessary that its Government should go to work honestly.*" Perhaps he meant to say after the Austrian fashion, for his Government did so then, and does so still.

About this time Rosmini fell into great trouble. When he had heard from the Pontiff that the Statute was irrevocably condemned, he abstained from taking any steps whatever which could be regarded unbe-

coming his profession as an obedient priest; but owing to the jealousy and envy of his ancient adversaries, who seized the occasion to injure him by fresh accusations, his works were anew charged with error and called in question, though they had been censured in vain during the Pontificate of Gregory XVI., and had been considered so blameless by Pius IX. that he had given the author a situation in the Congregations who are guardians of the Roman doctrines and the honour of the purple. When the news reached him, he requested that, if his books contained any errors, he might be made acquainted with them, and he would correct and amend them in all sincerity and humility; to which request he received a civil answer in the affirmative, but a condemnation was afterwards pronounced without further notice. As if this trouble were not sufficient, when he had gone from Naples to Gaeta, the *sgherri* went to his house in the night, and wanted to drag him before the Naples police court. He complained indignantly at this, said that he belonged to the Papal Court, and would not go without orders from the Pope unless they offered violence to his person. In the morning he went to Court, where he encountered nothing but sour faces instead of the kindly greeting he had been accustomed to receive; and the courtiers whose pleasure it had been to leave him at the mercy of the Neapolitan police, did not wish him to see either the Pope or Cardinal Antonelli. However, it so chanced that the Cardinal, who perhaps did not intend it, let himself be seen in the ante-chamber,

and he was then obliged to go to the Pope and request an audience for Rosmini. After considerable delay the Captain of the Swiss Guard, who was at the head of the police at Gaeta, came out and admitted Rosmini to the Pope, who spoke kindly to him, saying he had been ignorant of all which had taken place, and condoled with him about it; they were Neapolitan orders—he must submit—he must go to Naples. Accordingly he went, and repaired to the police, who banished him from the kingdom. Then, when he requested his passports, they would not give them to him, saying they had received fresh orders directing that he should remain; at last they granted him the favour of permitting him to leave. From this example it is evident what rabid feeling predominated, and that it was not only directed against institutions, but vented itself in ingratitude and cruelty towards men worthy of the highest esteem. Not one of those who had earned for themselves the title of liberal, or who could give liberal advice to the Pope, was had in esteem or honour at Gaeta, whilst the instruments of the Gregorian police were on the other hand restored to credit. Amongst them was a man of the name of Nardoni, who frequented the Court, and went about amongst the courtiers, trying to convince them he was not the identical person who had been condemned to the galleys for a theft during the reign of Napoleon; he even debased himself so low in order to clear his name from such a stain, that he wanted to strip in the presence of a member of the Pope's household, to show, as he said, that he had not

got the brand of the criminal on his skin. Let this be a sample of the dignity of those whom the Court delighted to honour.

The fall of Rome being near at hand, the Court, which had already matured and settled its scheme for a pure ecclesiastical restoration, turned its thoughts to the election of the Commissioner, who should proceed thither from the Pope as soon as the French had entered the city, and it made choice of Bernetti, one of the Ministers during the Gregorian restoration of 1831, a man of proud and determined character, acute intellect, harsh disposition, and averse to foreigners. It is said he accepted the office only on condition of being accredited with full powers, and that he had devised measures which would not have been acceptable either to the foreigners or to those who wanted to go back to the middle ages. But as France opposed the election of Bernetti, and some of the Cardinals also demurred, Antonelli suggested that two colleagues should be associated with him, but he, wishing to take the mission wholly upon himself, and aware of the reasons which had prompted the fresh proposal, resigned the charge. It being then discussed whether the Pope should return to Rome as soon as it was taken, as the French wished and entreated, or whether he should take up a temporary residence in some other part or city of the State, Cardinal Antonelli was of opinion that the latter plan should be adopted, and he said so to Balbo himself, who begged that he would not, at all events, take the Pope amongst the Austrians. Pius IX. also,

even if he did not fully confide in the French, had no great wish to throw himself into the arms of the Austrians, especially as he hoped to receive protection from the Spaniards.

Whilst these schemes were devising at Gaeta, and the French army was proceeding with the operations for the siege, germs of discord were springing up vigorously in the Roman camp; for Garibaldi, who was as brave a leader as he was an inefficient general, would not brook advice, much less obey commands, and not only ill-supported, but often embarrassed Roselli. The French, not having attacked the centre of the *curtain* of the Porta San Pancrazio, and threatening to attack the two bastions, numbered 2 and 3 if reckoned from the left, and 6 and 7 if reckoned from the Porta Portese, Roselli determined to cut a trench across the gorge of the bastion, construct a lunette to cover the retreat, and place a guard there; then to fortify the Aurelian wall, so that it might serve as a second line of fortification, finally to destroy the Casino Savorelli, construct a redoubt there, and making use of the hollow way which leads to the Porta Pancrazio, as a ditch, to place there the third line of fortifications, connecting it with the other works, so that retreat might be practicable as far as the bastion San Spirito, and the Città Leonina. But Garibaldi upset these plans, wasting to no purpose the strength and the blood of the troops, and arresting Colonel Amadei, who was blamed for disasters caused by his own temerity, thus increasing the ill-feeling of the army, and spoiling the entrenchments projected by

the General-in-chief, at which Cerotti, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Engineers, had been labouring with much skill and assiduity.

On the evening of the 21st of June, the French attacked the Monti Parioli. But Roselli thought it was not so much their intention to get possession of the heights as to create a diversion, and draw off the defenders of Rome, so that the defence might be weakened at the trenches which they were making; accordingly he warned Garibaldi, entreating him to be on the alert, and to make a valiant defence. But it was so mismanaged, that the French, without any noise and without an effort, entered by the breach that very night, the 21-22nd June, and Lieutenant-Colonel Rossi, who was engaged in reconnoitring, fell unawares into the hands of the enemy, who, in a very short time, carried the Bastion No. 7, and the curtain which unites it to No. 6. Rome was thrown into consternation by this disaster, the Triumvirs stirred up the people with emphatic appeals to rise up furiously in arms; and Roselli, who wished, at any cost, to regain the ground he had lost, commanded Garibaldi, as soon as day dawned on the 22nd, to make the necessary preparations, adding that he was going to the Triumvirs, that he would return immediately, that they must hold themselves in readiness for battle. Meantime, Sterbini, with some others, went to Garibaldi, who was stationed in the Casino Savorelli, for Sterbini was never content unless he were constantly meddling. For some time past he had taken to flattering the vanity of the bold chief, saying that he would make him General-in-

chief of the Republic; even Dictator; in fact he would have made him head over his Lictors, and constituted himself Dictator; he cursed the Triumvirs, the Government, the Assembly, Roselli—everybody. Garibaldi alone, according to him, was the Providence of Rome. It is a fact, that after this mob meeting the followers of Sterbini began to cry out, that Garibaldi alone ought to direct, command, govern; and that Rome was a prey to treachery. In the meanwhile the troops returned to their quarters, and these fellows gave out that the saviour of the Republic wanted to recover the breach, but that Roselli would not give his consent. Meanwhile Sterbini ran hither and thither through the streets of Rome, abusing and calumniating Roselli, and proclaiming Garibaldi Dictator. Soon they were very near coming to blows in the devoted city, which was thus thrown into confusion by these rascals, who were only prevented from carrying their point, by a brave youth going up to Sterbini, and saying to him, bitterly, that he ought to carry his accusations to the magistrates, and not proclaim them in the streets. He then besought him, for God's sake, to cease from brandishing the torch of discord at such a crisis, and when Sterbini persisted, he presented the muzzle of a musket to his breast, on which he took to his heels. Two or three hundred insurrectionists then repaired to the chambers of the Triumvirs, but Mazzini rebuked their spokesmen with severity; and when the Assembly had to debate on the motion brought forward in a secret sitting, to give the Dictatorship, or rather the supreme direction of the defence to Garibaldi, as Ster-

bini had proposed, the motion was lost, and it was well that Rome did not taste the delights of Sterbinian rule.

Whilst time was thus wasted in these tumults and disputes, the French made a lodgment on the breach, and fortified themselves there in such a manner, that the attack, as planned by Roselli, became impracticable. Mazzini himself confessed he had no longer any hope, and he wrote thus on the 22nd to Luciano Manara: "*I consider Rome as fallen,*" but he wished to have the satisfaction (he also wrote), *not to subscribe his name to capitulations,* which he foresaw would be *inevitable,* yet the same evening his bravos spread abroad reports of fortunate news from France. What wonderful constancy! what heroic virtue was shown in those days by the noblest soldiers of Rome! that is to say, by all those brave youths who had brandished their swords for the independence of Italy in 1848, and who would not sheathe them again whilst war was carried on in any part of Italy against the foreigner. Republicans or no, for many were not, and the majority were not Mazzinians, they clung to their standard without any hope of victory, yet they did not murmur, neither did they raise a tumult nor complain; they endured unheard-of fatigue; they suffered and died for their own honour, for the honour of Italy.

On the 24th the French Artillery, posted on the curtain of the Bastions, 6 and 7, began to attack the Romans, who defended themselves with the guns which they had posted on San Pietro in Montorio, and fortified themselves within the ancient Aurelian wall.

The legion, known by the name Medici, still occupied the whole of the Vascello Palace, and other houses situated at a little distance from the breach, and performed prodigies of valour. A party of young men, who had thrown themselves into the Casino Barberini, were surrounded by the enemy, and every one of them slain, after a struggle which was so furious that one of them had five-and-twenty wounds, and twenty were killed and buried beneath the ruins of the Vascello Palace, which fell on the 26th; still the Medici troops did not retreat. On the 27th the Villa Savorelli, where Garibaldi had taken up his quarters, fell beneath the fire of the artillery; San Pietro in Montorio, the Corsini Palace, and the adjacent houses were also very much damaged; almost all the wounded left the hospitals to add their numbers to the forces engaged, some of them worked, some fought, some ran to extinguish, so they fancied, the fusees of the bombs which were showering around; as there were not sufficient artillerymen, the soldiers of the line and the volunteers took the posts of those who had fallen; some young men remained on duty two days and three nights consecutively, without taking any repose. The headquarters had been removed to the Villa Spada; the defence had been reduced to the Aurelian rampart and to the Bastion No. 8, thundered against by the enemy's artillery; the night of St. Peter, the 29th of June, was tempestuous; the thunder of the storm alternated with the roar of the artillery; the lightning mingled its sharp flashes with the brilliant illuminations on the Cupola of Michael Angelo; the French entered the city during

that night. Garibaldi, with his sword drawn, ran about, endeavouring to animate the people with his voice and by his example; a bloody combat followed, in which 400 Italians were killed; other noble lives were lost not far from the fray. Luciano Manara perished, officers fought with muskets, with swords, and with their hands, like common soldiers; many artillerymen were killed, lashed to their guns, which they would not abandon—the French triumphed. Let our anger be calmed by the sight of these corpses. Reader, if thou art of Italian blood, bless those who in dying defended the honour of Italy, fighting against the foreigner; here there is neither party spirit nor question of party—it is Italian soil that the foreigner tramples; they are defenders of their country who have fallen. Peace and honour to their ashes!

The Asssembly, which in the previous days had been discussing the Constitution of the Republic, moved by anger, and filled with grief, met on the morning of the 30th of June in the Capitol. Cernuschi was the first to rise and propose that all further resistance should be declared impossible, and that the Assembly should remain at its post. Mazzini enters with a pallid face, he rages and hopes; in his opinion there are three alternatives; to surrender, or to re-enact the prodigies of Saragossa, or for the Government, Assembly, and army to quit Rome, and continue the struggle in the provinces; the first an unworthy course, the other two dignified and noble. The Assembly remained silent, uncertain how to act, when General Bartolucci broke silence, affirming that Garibaldi had himself assured

Mazzini that all resistance beyond the Tiber was impossible, on which the Assembly complained of the Triumvir for concealing the truth and sent for Garibaldi. He made his appearance, dripping with sweat, and his clothes stained with blood, and, like an honest man, declared what was the truth, that resistance beyond the Tiber was impossible; resistance on this side tremendous and useless; that they could only hold out for a few days; that to defend Rome in the streets was vain, since the French were masters of the heights, and he concluded by saying that it would be a cruel thing to attempt such a course; it was better to quit Rome. But the majority would not agree to this, though some of the Deputies coincided in the opinion, and Mazzini tried to bring others round to it; so the course proposed by Cernuschi was adopted in the following terms:—

"In the name of God and the People. The Constituent Roman Assembly ceases from a defence which has become impracticable, and remains at its post."

The business of treating with the French was then confided to the Municipality of Rome. Mazzini left the Assembly in indignation, and in resigning his office, wrote words full of anger and reproof, which greatly annoyed the Deputies, but not to such a degree as to prevent them from proclaiming the former Triumvirs to have merited well of their country, when Saliceti, Mariani, and Calandrelli were elected in their stead. Mazzini, Avvezana, and the committee of barricades then took leave of the Romans, praising their bravery, and entreating them to maintain their fidelity towards

the Republic. Garibaldi mustered his troops in the Piazza San Pietro, and proposed to them to quit Rome, to avoid the abhorred sight of the victorious army, to throw themselves into the provinces, to excite them to rise and to fall upon the Austrians. "I offer you," he said, "new battles and fresh glory, at the price of great exertions and great perils; let him who has a heart follow me; let him who still has faith in the fortunes of Italy follow me.. Having dyed our fingers in French blood, let us go and plunge our hands in German blood." His name was lauded to the skies, and 5000 men enrolled themselves in his service, and swore to follow him. But intelligence was meantime received that the negotiations undertaken by the Municipality had failed of influencing General Oudinot's mind, and a furious desire arose in consequence to attempt a desperate resistance in the streets of Rome, and it would have been carried into execution if the advice of the newly-elected Triumvirs, and the firmness shown by some officers, amongst whom was Cololonel Pasi, had not preserved Rome from such an act of desperation. Then Mazzini proposed to the Assembly that it should elect Commissioners, who should follow Garibaldi, as Dictators of the Republic, to govern and fight where they could, and the motion was carried in the morning, but on being proposed again in the evening it was lost.

The Municipal Magistrates, who had gone to General Oudinot, had proposed these Articles: "That the French army should enter Rome; that all the barricades and works of defence should be destroyed; that

the military authorities in Rome should send away the Roman soldiers to such quarters as they should deem expedient; that the troops who remained should share the military duties of the city with the French; that property and personal liberty should be secured; that the National Guard should remain in arms and on duty; that France should not interfere in the administration of the State." General Oudinot and M. de Courcelles not having accepted these Articles, the Magistrates would not propose any others, and they accordingly gave up the City into the hands of the victorious army, while Garibaldi went out at the Porta San Giovanni on the evening of the 2nd of July, with 4000 infantry and 800 horse. The Assembly voted 100,000 scudi for the army, and subsidies for the poor families of those who had died for the Republic, and ordered their obsequies to be solemnly performed in St. Peter's; it bestowed citizenship on all the Italians who had defended Rome; provided that the Constitution should be engraved on marble tablets, and placed in the Capitol, and passed a resolution to await at its post the victorious army. The next day the following Constitution was publicly promulgated from the Capitol:—

Fundamental Principles.

1. The Sovereignty is of right eternal in the People. The people of the Roman State are constituted a Democratic Republic.

2. The democratic regime has for its principles equality, liberty, and fraternity. It does not recognise titles of nobility, or privileges of birth or caste.

3. The Republic, by its laws and institutions, promotes

the amelioration of the moral and physical condition of all its citizens.

4. The Republic regards all nations as its brethren. It respects every nationality; it defends the Italian.

5. The Municipalities have all equal rights; their independence is limited only by laws of general utility to the State.

6. The most equable distribution possible of local interests, in harmony with the political interests of the State, is the rule of the territorial partition of the Republic.

7. The exercise of civil and political rights does not depend on religious belief.

8. The Head of the Catholic Church will have all necessary guarantees from the Republic for the independent exercise of the Spiritual Power.

CAP. I.

On the Rights and Duties of Citizens.

1. Citizens of the Roman Republic are:
   The natives of the Republic.
   Those who have acquired citizenship by preceding laws.
   All other Italians, by a residence of six months.
   Foreigners by a residence of ten years.
   Foreigners naturalised by a decree of the Legislative Power.
2. Citizenship is forfeited—
   By naturalization or by residence in a foreign country, with the intention not to return.
   By abandoning the country in case of war, or when it is declared to be in danger.
   By accepting titles conferred by foreign Powers.
   By accepting ranks and offices, and by military service under a foreign Power, without authorisation from the Republican Government; authorisation is always presumed, when fighting for the liberties of a people.
   By judicial sentence.
3. Persons and property are inviolate.
4. No one can be arrested except in *flagrante delicto*, or by a

warrant from the judge; nor can he be removed from the jurisdiction of his natural judges.

No exceptional Court or Commission can be constituted, under any title or name whatever.

No one can be imprisoned for debt.

5. The penalties of death and of confiscation are prescribed.

6. The domicile is sacred. It is not permitted to enter it except in the cases, and after the modes determined by law.

7. Expression of opinion is free; the law punishes the abuse of it without any preventive censure.

8. Instruction is free.

The conditions of morality and capacity in those who intend to profess it, are determined by law.

9. The secrecy of letters is inviolable.

10. The right of petition can be exercised individually and collectively.

11. Unarmed associations, and without criminal object, are permitted.

12. All citizens belong to the National Guard, in the manner and with the exceptions fixed by law.

13. No one can be compelled to give up his property, except in a public cause, and for a previous just indemnity.

14. The law determines the expenditure of the Republic, and the mode of taxation.

No tax can be imposed, except by law, or continued for a longer period than that determined by law.

Cap. II.

On the Political Form of Government.

15. All power proceeds from the people. It is exercised by the Assembly, by the Consulate, and by the Judicial Authorities.

Cap. III.

Of the Assembly.

16. The Assembly is constituted of the Representatives of the people.

17. Every citizen, in the enjoyment of civil and political rights, is an elector at twenty-one years of age, and is eligible at twenty-five.

18. Any public functionary, nominated by the Consuls, or by the Ministry, cannot be a Representative of the people.

19. The number of Representatives is in the proportion of one to every twenty thousand inhabitants.

20. The general elections take place every three years, on the 21st of April.

The people then elect their Representatives by a universal, direct, and open vote.

21. The Assembly meets on the 15th of May succeeding the elections.

It is renewed triennially.

22. The Assembly meets in Rome, when it is not determined otherwise, and has at its disposal the armed force of which it deems itself to be in need.

23. The Assembly is indissoluble and permanent, with the exception that it has the right to adjourn for any length of time that it thinks proper.

It may be summoned during the interval, in a case of emergency, at the invitation of the President and the Secretary, of thirty Members, or of the Consulate.

24. One more than half the number of Representatives is required to form a quorum.

Any number whatever of those present decide on the arrangements for summoning the absent.

25. The sittings of the Assembly are in public. It may resolve itself into a Secret Committee.

26. The Representatives of the people are irresponsible for their opinions pronounced in the Assembly; all inquisition is interdicted.

27. All arrest or inquisition in the case of Representatives is forbidden, without permission from the Assembly, except in case of *flagrante delicto*.

In case of arrest or *flagrante delicto*, the Assembly, which will be immediately informed of it, determines the continuance or the cessation of the proceedings.

This provision applies to the case in which an imprisoned Citizen is nominated as a Representative.

28. Every Representative of the people receives an indemnity which he cannot refuse.

29. The Assembly is the legislative organ; it decides on peace, on war, and on treaties.

30. All proposals of laws belong to the Representatives of the Consulate.

31. No bill has the force of a law until it has passed after two readings, with an interval of not less than a week between them, unless the Assembly abridge it in a case of necessity.

32. The laws passed by the Assembly are promulgated without delay by the Consulate, in the name of God and the people. If the Consulate delay, the President of the Assembly undertakes their promulgation.

Cap. IV.

Of the Consulate and the Ministry.

33. There are three Consuls. They are nominated by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the Assembly.

They must be citizens of the Republic, and of the age of 30 years.

34. The office of Consul lasts three years. Every year one of the Consuls retires from office.

The two first times they retire by lot.

No Consul can be re-elected until after he has been three years out of office.

35. There are seven Ministers nominated by the Consulate:

1. Of the Interior. 2. Of Foreign Affairs. 3. Of War and Marine. 4. Of Finance. 5. Of Grace and Justice. 6. Of Agriculture, Trade, and Public Works. 7. Of Public Worship, Public Instruction, Fine Arts, and Beneficence.

36. The execution of the laws and of international relations is committed to the Consuls.

37. To the Consuls belong the nomination and revocation of all offices which the law does not reserve for any other

authority, but every nomination and revocation must be made in the Council of Ministers.

38. The acts of the Consuls do not take effect until they have been countersigned by the Minister charged with their execution. The signature of the Consuls is of itself sufficient for the nomination and revocation of the Ministers.

39. The Consuls report on the state of the affairs of the Republic every year, and whenever required by the Assembly.

40. The Ministers have the right to address the Assembly on affairs relative to their own departments.

41. The Consuls reside in the place where the Assembly meets, nor can they leave the territory of the Republic without a vote passed by the Assembly, under pain of losing office.

42. They are lodged at the expense of the Republic, and each of them receives a salary of 3600 scudi* per annum.

43. The Consuls and the Ministers are responsible.

44. The Consuls and the Ministers can be impeached by the Assembly, on the motion of ten Representatives. The motion must be discussed like a bill.

45. The impeachment being admitted, the Consul is suspended from his functions. If he be acquitted, he returns to the exercise of his functions; if condemned, the Assembly passes to a fresh election.

CAP. V.

Of the Council of State.

46. There is a Council of State, composed of fifteen councillors, nominated by the Assembly.

47. Reference must be made to it by the Consuls, and the Ministers on bills to be proposed, on all edicts and executive ordinances; it may also be consulted on political relations.

48. It promulgates those edicts for which the Assembly has given it a special delegation. Its other functions are determined by a particular law.

* £750.—TR.

Cap. VI.

Of the Judicial Power.

49. The judges in the exercise of their functions, are not dependent on any other authority in the State.

50. Nominated by the Consuls, and in a Council of Ministers; their offices are permanent; they cannot be promoted or transferred except by their own consent, nor can they be suspended, degraded, or deprived of their offices, except after a regular procedure and sentence.

51. There are Justices of the Peace for civil disputes.

52. Justice is administered publicly in the name of the people; but the tribunal, on the score of morality, can order the trial to be carried on with closed doors.

53. In criminal cases the judgment of the fact belongs to the people; the application of the law to the tribunal. The institution of judges of the fact is determined by a special law.

54. There is a Public Minister attached to the tribunals of the Republic.

55. A Supreme Tribunal of Justice sentences* the Consuls and Ministers impeached. The Supreme Tribunal is composed of the President, and of four of the senior judges of the Court of Cassation, and of jurors drawn by lot from the annual lists, three for each province.

The Assembly nominates the magistrate who is to execute the functions of Public Minister attached to the Supreme Tribunal.

A majority of two-thirds of the votes is necessary for the condemnation of the accused.

Cap. VII.

Of the Public Force.

56. The amount of the stipendiary force, by land or sea, is determined by law, and by law alone can it be augmented or diminished.

* Senza che siavi luogo a gravame.

57. The army is formed by voluntary enrolment, and in the manner determined by law.

58. No foreign troops can be enrolled, or introduced into the territory of the Republic, without a decree of the Assembly.

59. The Generals are nominated by the Assembly, on the proposal of the Consulate.

60. The distribution of troops of the line, and the forces of the internal garrisons, are determined by the Assembly; nor can they be varied or transferred, even temporarily, without its consent.

61. In the National Guard rank is conferred by election.

62. The maintenance of internal order, and of the Constitution, is principally confided to the National Guard.

CAP. VIII.

Of the Revision of the Constitution.

63. Any reform, whatever, of the Constitution, can only be put to the vote in the last year of the Legislature, and by at least a third of the Representatives.

64. The Assembly debates twice on the motion at an interval of two months. If the Assembly votes in favour of reform, by a majority of two-thirds, the popular conventions are summoned to elect Representatives for the Constituent Assembly, in the proportion of one for every fifteen thousand inhabitants.

65. The Assembly of revision is also the Legislative Assembly during the whole time of its sitting, which is not to exceed three months.

Provisional Regulations.

66. The acts of the existing Constituent Assembly shall be specially directed to drawing up the electoral law, and the other organic laws necessary to the working of the Constitution.

67. On the opening of the Legislative Assembly, the functions of the Constituent will determine.

68. The existing laws and regulations will remain in force, in as far as they are not opposed to the Constitution, and until they shall be abrogated.

69. All persons at present in office require confirmation.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMISSION GIVEN BY THE NEW TRIUMVIRS TO THE PRINCE OF CANINO.—ENTRY OF THE FRENCH.—PROCLAMATION.—TUMULTS IN THE PIAZZA COLONNA.—ASSASSINATIONS.—DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSEMBLY.—PROCLAMATION BY GENERAL OUDINOT.—TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE POPE.—EMIGRATIONS.—DEPARTURE OF GARIBALDI WITH HIS TROOPS.—HIS PLANS.—ROUTE TAKEN BY HIM.—HIS ATTEMPTS IN TUSCANY.—DESERTIONS.—SKIRMISHES.—REPASSES THE APENNINES.—DISCOURAGEMENTS AMONG HIS FOLLOWERS.—ARRIVES AT SAN MARINO.—HIS PROCLAMATION.—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO AND THE AUSTRIANS.—WORDS OF GARIBALDI.—HE TAKES FLIGHT FROM SAN MARINO WITH A FEW FOLLOWERS.—ARRIVES AT CESENATICO.—EMBARKS FOR VENICE.—CRUELTY OF THE AUSTRIANS.—GARIBALDI IS DRIVEN BACK TO THE ROMAN COAST.—HE LANDS AT MESOLA.—DEATH OF HIS WIFE.—HE ESCAPES.—OBSERVATIONS.

The new Triumvirs, elected by the Assembly, remained in office such a short time, that no memento is left of their government, except that they nominated the Prince of Canino, Ambassador of the Republic to France, England, and the United States of America, giving him his instructions on the 3rd of July, couched in the following terms:—

"To the Citizen Carlo Luciano Bonaparte, Representative of the People in the Roman Constituent Assembly.

"Citizen Bonaparte,

"In the midst of the crisis which will decide the fate of three millions of Italians, the Triumvirate of our

Republic has confided to you a mission, as important and delicate as it is worthy your noble mind, your talents, and your patriotism. The present new Triumvirate accredits you with full powers, as its Representative Extraordinary at the Courts of France, England, and the United States of America. Your instructions are principally embraced in these two particulars, which will constitute the sole and substantial basis of your diplomacy in the solution of the important problem of our political existence,—1st. The impossibility of the restoration of the temporal dominion of the Pope; 2nd. The logical and political necessity of the preservation of our Republic. Your good sense and judgment will facilitate the development of the conclusions which emanate spontaneously from these two premises.

"Europe is not ignorant that, in his Encyclical letter of the 20th of April, Pius IX. solemnly declared all liberal institutions to be utterly incompatible with the temporal dominion of the Holy See. Europe is not ignorant of the heroic resistance made by Bologna, by Ancona and Rome, which was entirely provoked by the bitter hatred of the people towards the theocratic Government that attempts are now made to restore. And you will add, Citizen, that this same Roman people, exposed to the menaces of more than thirty thousand bayonets, of an immense array of artillery and other pieces of ordnance, disarmed, but not conquered, still exhibits an indomitable bravery, all the more significant the more courteous the manner, and the more liberal the expressions of the brave soldiers of France.

"The liberal Governments of France, England, and the United States will be convinced by these and similar facts that the restoration of the temporal dominion of the Popes, far from being opportune, or necessary to universal peace, is on the contrary opposed to it, since it will keep alive and render permanent the revolutionary flame in the heart of Italy and Rome, which will then become the centre of the universal commotions of Europe.

"By showing that the restoration of the Papal Government

is opposed to the object of a general restoration, you will defend by logical necessity the existence of our Republic. And here you will find it opportune to dissipate the sinister impressions which may have been caused by some few excesses springing from circumstances purely exceptional and transitional.

"The temperament, the habits, the local wants of the Roman people, offer ample guarantees for the moderate and conservative nature of our Republic; the Utopias of so called *Red Republicans* or *Socialists* are quite inapplicable to us. The Roman Republic, reduced to and guaranteed in its normal and natural existence, can never become a propaganda of revolutionary principles, destructive to the universal equilibrium. If it were, it would fall, wanting as it is in all the conditions to effect of itself a European or Italian revolution. You will submit these and other considerations to the mature examination of the Governments of France, England, and the United States of America, invoking from the first the immediate recognition of the Republic; from the other two a prompt and frank mediation in support of our right, which is as sacred and imprescriptible as are eternal truth and reason.

"All the present Representatives of our Republic at the English, French, and American Courts will conform to these instructions, and will depend upon you for orders. The Triumvirate feels that it is bound to thank you for the generous offer made by you to undertake at your own expense this important mission.

"Health and Fraternity."

On the 3rd of July, the very day on which the Constitution was promulgated from the Capitol, the French army entered the city. It is said that the people, in their curiosity, crowded on the other side of the Tiber, and that some friendly greetings were heard; but if it were so beyond the Tiber—which the French alone affirm—it was not so further on, for the murmurs

of the spectators were heard even at the Ponte Sisto; doors and windows were closed, streets deserted. The profound silence on the Corso was only broken by indignant cries; the troops marched on grave and silent, showing signs of suspicion rather than of triumph. All at once loud acclamations for the Roman Republic arose, imprecations against the priests, abuse against Oudinot, and jeers at the soldiers; and the tumult increased when a tricoloured flag was seen floating over the Caffé delle Belle Arti. It became worse and worse as the crowd pressed upon the General in the Piazza Colonna, but the officers spurred their horses, the soldiers seized their arms, and the people were dispersed in the twinkling of an eye. In the midst of the confusion two or three priests were poniarded. Pantaleone, on being attacked, defended himself with his sword; the Abbé Perfetti, who was with him, was wounded by a knife; and thus assassins cast a stain on the dignity of misfortune by these deeds of violence.

By the evening the city was silent, dark, and empty; the day after, a body of soldiers invaded the Palace of the Assembly, and expelled the Deputies, who protested, in the name of the Fifth Article of the French Constitution.

General Oudinot then published the following Manifesto:—

"Inhabitants of Rome! The army sent by the French Republic to your territory, has the restitution of the order desired by the people for its object. A few factious and misled men have compelled us to attack your walls; we have taken possession of your city, and shall fulfil our duty.

"Amidst the testimonies of sympathy with which we were received where the real sentiments of the true people of Rome were incontestable, some hostile demonstrations were made, which we have found ourselves obliged immediately to suppress.

"Let all well-disposed people, therefore, and all true friends of liberty, take courage, and let the enemies of order and of society know that if they ever renew their oppressive demonstrations at the instigation of a foreign faction, they shall be severely punished. I make the following provisions to guarantee effectually the public safety:—

"All power is temporarily vested in the hands of the military authorities, who will immediately request the co-operation of the municipal authorities. The Assembly and the Government, whose violent and oppressive reign began by ingratitude, and ended by an impious war against a nation friendly to the population of Rome, have ceased to exist. Clubs and political associations are closed; all publications by the press are temporarily prohibited, and all placards not permitted by the military authority. Offences against the person and against property will be investigated and punished by the military tribunals. General Rostolan is nominated Governor of Rome, Brigadier-General Sauvan, Commandant, and Colonel Sol, Commandant of the Garrison."

Colonel Niel, of the Engineers, was despatched to Gaeta at this juncture, to announce the news of the taking of Rome to the Pope, who received him with great honour, and having given him his benediction, wrote thus to General Oudinot:—

"General,

"The tried valour of the French, impelled by the justice of the cause which they defended, has reaped victory as its merited reward. Receive my congratulations, General, on the merit which principally belongs to you; congratulations, not on the blood which has been shed, for that my heart abhors,

but on the triumph of order over anarchy, and on the liberty restored to all Christian and honest men, which will make it no longer a crime to enjoy the blessings that the Lord has imparted, and to adore Him with the religious solemnity of public worship, without running the risk of losing life or liberty. I put my trust in the Divine protection, to overcome the serious difficulties which may possibly arise hereafter.

"I believe that it will not be useless for the French army to be made acquainted with the history of the facts which have taken place during my Pontificate, as they are narrated in my Allocution, with which you, General, are acquainted. I will, therefore, send you a certain number of copies to distribute as you may deem expedient. This document will sufficiently prove that the triumph of the army has been obtained over the enemies of civilised society, and that your victory ought to cause nothing but sentiments of gratitude in the breasts of all honest men, both in Europe and in the whole world.

"Colonel Niel, who brought me the keys of Rome, together with your letter, will remit you my reply. I have much pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity of expressing to you the sentiments of paternal affection which I entertain towards the French Army, towards the Government, and towards the whole of France.

"Receive my Apostolic Benediction, which I bestow upon you heartily.

"Given at Gaeta, this 5th July, 1849.

"PIUS, P. P. IX."

In the meantime the Triumvirs, and those who had signalised themselves the most during the Revolution, took their departure from Rome, with English and American passports; none of them were molested by the French, except Cernuschi, who was arrested at Civitâ Vecchia. Romans, Italians, and foreigners crowded the ships; the young and the aged, nobles and plebeians, soldiers and women, priests and magis-

trates, the flower of honourable men, and the dregs of the rabble! A lamentable spectacle!

Under favour of night Garibaldi escaped from the French, under the guidance of Ciceruacchio, and arrived at Tivoli on the morning of the 3rd, with all his followers, and a great quantity of waggons, baggage, and ammunition. As long as he had any hope of being followed by the other Roman troops, and the Commissioners of the Assembly, he intended to go to Spoleto, a city conveniently adapted, in his opinion, for defence, and not yet occupied by the enemy; and after having established the seat of Government there, to hoist once more the standard of the Republic, and renew the desperate war. But when this hope had vanished, he directed his audacious thoughts to Venice, which was still magnanimously resisting the Austrians; but he wished to avoid pitched battles, to reach the Adriatic by unbeaten paths, and thence to set sail for the Lagune. He was accompanied by the few surviving fellow-soldiers who had followed him from America, where, with him, they had cast a lustre on Italian valour, and had shared in all the adventures of the war. He was also accompanied by his Anita, his devoted wife, a lady of Brazilian origin, who had made him father of three sons, and was about to give birth to a fourth child, and who had always fought at his side with masculine energy. They left Tivoli at the close of day, on the 3rd of July, and passed the night at Monticelli; the following day they reached Monte Rotondo, whence they took their departure on the 6th, traversed the Via Salara towards Poggio Mirteto, and

with severe and long-continued fatigue crossed the hills which descend from the Apennines, and arrived at Terni, with all their baggage, on the 9th.

Thus Garibaldi baffled the designs of General Oudinot, who had ordered him to be pursued by the first division of his army; on the roads leading to Albano, Frascati, and Tivoli, by General Mollier; and by the Cavalry under General Morris, on the roads to Cività Vecchia, Castellana, Orvieto, and Viterbo; but neither the French, Spanish, nor Neapolitans succeeded in cutting off his march. Having found Colonel Forbes, at Terni, with 900 men, he gave him the command of one legion, the other was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sacchi; the cavalry by an American called Bueno; each legion was formed of three cohorts, each cohort of five or six centuries.

On the night of the 11th they left Terni, and moved on towards Todi, by way of San Gemini, arriving there on the 13th. News from Tuscany had reached the place before their arrival; it was stated that the minds of the people were boiling over with anger, because the Grand Duke had not only delivered up rebellious Leghorn into the power of the Austrians, but even Florence—which had restored him to his Duchy by means of the courage of the people—Florence, beautiful Florence, was overrun by the Croats; the Austrians were few and scattered, the passion of revenge was burning in the hearts of the people; if the Romans passed the confines, Tuscany would rise to a man; Garibaldi, therefore, determined to try his fortune there, with the intention, if the Tuscan enter-

prise should fail, to repass the Apennines and repair to the Adriatic. Having found some guns at Todi, he took one which was small and light, left the waggons, horses, and superfluous ammunition behind him, and prepared for his departure.

Two high roads lead from Todi into Tuscany, one which passes by way of Viterbo and Acqua Pendente to Siena; the other, which leads through Perugia, to Arezzo, both of them occupied by the Austrians. As soon as D'Aspre, of Florence, Gorzhowsky and Wimpffen, of the Legations, heard of the movements of the Roman refugees, they reduced the garrisons in the cities they occupied, that they might give chase to the rebels. The Neapolitan General Statella, with a large force, was in the Abruzzi, the French were encamped at Collesecco, and had occupied Viterbo; there seemed no way of escape. But Garibaldi, who was experienced in that kind of warfare, triumphed over natural obstacles, and over the tactics of the enemy; he sent a troop of horse under the very walls of Foligno, six companies towards Perugia, and two towards Viterbo, to keep the Austrians and French at bay on the left bank of the Tiber, and directed that one party should cross the river near the Lake of Thrasimene, the other near Bagnorea and Orvieto, and that they should reach Cetona on the 19th. On the morning of the 15th, he left Todi with the main body of his troops, and crossed the Tiber; on the 16th he was at Orvieto half-an-hour before the French reached it, and arriving in Tuscany by way of Ficulle and Citta della Pieve, occupied Cetona on the 19th, the place hav-

ing been hastily abandoned by the few soldiers left to guard it.

But his little army was already much diminished, hardly 3000 men followed him; the others, knocked up exhausted, and ill, lagged behind; deserters were numerous, especially among those whom Colonel Forbes commanded, and amongst the dragoons which had come from Rome. These men gave themselves up to rapine and all sorts of villany, and by their deeds cast a stigma upon the fame of the followers of Garibaldi, though the Commander and the majority of the officers, and many noble-minded young men, were clear from the stains which these bad men cast on the name of the legions.

Garibaldi then sent a body of cavalry from Cetona, where the other companies had arrived on the 19th and following day, to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Siena; but the Captain encamped at the distance of ten miles from the city, and bargained with the Austrians, to whom he sold men, horses, and ammunition, and fled. Such villanies as these come to light in the ferment of society; such corruption taints the bands which these ferments create. On the 20th, Garibaldi moved from Cetona to Foiano, and on the 21st he went from Foiano to Monte Pulciano, which he left on the same evening for Castiglione Fiorentino, and on the 23rd he went to Arezzo, which he attempted in vain to occupy, for the magistrates, with the few Austrians who were there, and the civic guard, knowing that the Archduke Ernest, and Stadion, were marching in that direction, barricaded the gates, and stood

on the defensive. On the 24th he raised the camp, and though molested on his retreat by the Austrians, marched by steep and rugged paths towards Citerna, situated on the summit of a high hill, and arrived there the next day. The enemy were already at Monterchi on one side, and at Borgo San Sepolcro on the other; in a short time they might surround Citerna, and cut off all retreat. Garibaldi sent a few companies against Monterchi, to keep them at bay, and dispatched a few more between Monterchi and Borgo San Sepolcro, as if he intended to open for himself a route by way of Città di Castello, and having thus alarmed the enemy's camp, he departed in silence on the evening of the 26th towards Santa Giustina, and, making his way along paths so narrow that it was scarcely possible to pass singly along them, reached Santa Giustina at dawn. Still he marched on and on, arrived at the extreme summit of the Apennines, and passed the night there. Having escaped the main body of the Austrian forces, he reached San Angelo in Vado, in the Roman States, on the 28th. In his rear were the troops commanded by the Archduke Ernest, and, wishing to continue his route, he feigned, on the 29th, to arrange his men in order of battle, and attacked the enemy with his *bersaglieri*, but made off again before the engagement became general, and directed his course towards San Marino. His followers had not all got out of San Angelo when the Austrians overtook the stragglers, who defended themselves with desperate valour. Amongst them was Captain Jourdan of the Engineers, a Roman, who killed an Austrian cavalry sol-

dier, and who went on fighting, though he had been wounded in the head, until he had forced a passage for himself by which to rejoin his companions.

Reduced to these extremities, Garibaldi determined to enter the little Republic of San Marino, and leave all those who had not courage or strength to face new dangers, under its protection, on which he hoped he might certainly rely, whilst he proceeded to Venice with the braver and more trustworthy portion of his followers. But the hearts of the majority were already failing them, their strength was at a still lower ebb; they had lost every hope, nothing was left them, neither the excitement of battle, nor the glory in death of leaving an honoured name behind them. Who, indeed, could gain one amidst those rocks and woods where they were finishing their miserable days? Who amongst them could gain one whilst the name of a follower of Garibaldi, stained by the bad, who bear it as well as the noble, sounds infamous in this cowardly age, which supports and honours, while it trembles, the violent of every class and faction, when they rule in cringing cities, but which, fearful lest the skin should be scratched, or a leaf taken from the gardens of Italy, mocks and curses those who fight against the foreigner, and who die, however wild and imprudent they may be, for the honour of Italy?

It was an arduous expedition to reach San Marino; wild unknown paths, dense woods, impetuous torrents, and not only the Austrians, who were descending from the Tuscan Apennines in their rear, but before them, and on both sides, those who were pressing on from

Romagna. Garibaldi marched during the whole of the 29th, and arrived at Macerata Feltria in the evening; the following day he occupied Pietra Rubbia, recommenced his march, ran the risk of losing himself in the woods, was attacked in a valley by the enemy from the adjoining heights, but, in spite of all, arrived with his people at San Marino on the 31st, where he published the following manifesto:—

"Soldiers! we have reached a land of refuge, and must conduct ourselves with propriety towards our generous hosts. We shall thus merit the consideration which is due to persecuted misfortune. I exonerate my comrades from all obligations, and leave them free to return to their homes; but let them remember that Italy ought not to remain under oppression, and that it is better to die than to live as slaves to the foreigner."

The Austrians were making preparations for attacking the Republic of San Marino, but the authorities, anxious to come to terms, went to General Gorzhowski, who was then at Rimini, and who intimated to them that he would act with forbearance if the legions would lay down their arms; that he would permit them to return to their homes, and that he would send Garibaldi to America; in the meantime 10,000 men took possession of the passes. Part of the legions, on hearing this proposal, cried out, "Surrender! Never! better die; to Venice! to Venice!" and Garibaldi, starting up, raised his haughty head, and exclaimed, "I offer fresh sufferings, greater perils, death, perhaps, to all who will follow me; but terms with the foreigner—never!" (Why was not Mazzini, who swore he would never come to terms with the foreigner, why was not

he with Garibaldi?) Then he mounted his horse, and departed with 300 men and his wife. On reaching Cesenatico, he took the few Austrians who were in the garrison prisoners, made ready thirteen fishing-boats, and on the morning of the 3rd of August, steered for Venice.

The Austrian, after seeking him in vain on the hills and in the valleys, put forth a proclamation, in which he threatened death to any one who should shelter Garibaldi, guide him, or give fire, bread, or water to him, or to his followers, or to his pregnant wife. He then went to San Marino, and agreed with the authorities to give liberty to the 900 men who had consented to lay down their arms. He afterwards caused these men to be stopped on the road, and sent prisoners to Bologna; the Lombards he consigned to the prisons of Mantua, and set the Romans at liberty after they had each received thirty blows with a stick.

Garibaldi, who was a skilful navigator, and sailing with a favourable wind, had already rounded the *Punta di Maestra;* and could see the towers of the Queen of the Adriatic, when the Austrian ships attacked him, and the wind became no longer propitious. The sailors lost courage at the discharge of the cannon, but Garibaldi's heart did not fail him. He attempted to force a passage, and kept his boats together for the purpose, until one of the enemy's ships separated them. Eight got scattered; in vain he attempted to rally them; they were taken, and the prisoners, loaded with chains, were sent to the fortress of Pola. Garibaldi escaped with the rest, and, driven upon the Roman

coast, succeeded in landing on the shore of Mesola on the morning of the 5th of August. He had with him his wife, Ciceruacchio with his two sons, a Lombard officer of the name of Livraghi, a Barnabite monk named Bassi, and other officers and soldiers whose names are not known. They endeavoured to seek safety in flight; Garibaldi, with his Anita and a comrade, directed their steps towards Ravenna, and travelled for two days, recognised, sheltered, and succoured by the peasants, the police, and the revenue officers, in spite of the Austrian proclamation. But on the third day his wife, exhausted by anxiety and fatigue, fainted, and in a short time breathed her last, in the arms of her inconsolable husband. Garibaldi then went to Ravenna, thence to Tuscany, afterwards to Genoa and Tunis, and lastly emigrated to America. The others, who had been driven on shore with him, wandered at hazard amidst the woods and on the moors, chased, slain like wild beasts, and left unburied. Nothing was ever heard of the greater portion, but melancholy accounts remain of two, Ugo Bassi the Barnabite, and Livraghi, who were put in chains and taken to Bologna, where we shall see how their lives finished miserably soon afterwards. Thus ended the Roman Republic.

It is well to remember here that the Pontifical Allocution of the 29th of April, 1848, had excited the national spirit against the Papacy by reviving the old feeling, which is strongly opposed to the union of so much temporal power with the spiritual, the source of so much influence, and which looks upon this temporal power as a lasting obstacle to the union of Italy. That

document was the cause why all who were intent upon rendering their country free were alienated from a Principality which breaks the arms that would avenge it, and polishes those that wound it; and while some felt a preference for a lay principality, others for a Republican Government, all felt contempt for the Papal Government, whence reverence and fidelity became extinct, and the Government, tolerated but not loved, fell a prey to factions and fortune; and as then, so always, whatever Italian State is inimical, or opposed, or indifferent to national redemption, will become a prey to factions and fortune.

After the events of the 15th and 16th of November had taken place, the departure of the Pope from the State of which he was no longer absolute sovereign, but constitutional prince, the lack of sagacious councils in the Cardinal and the Prelate to whom he had deputed the office of governing in his name, and the audience denied at Gaeta to the Deputies of the Parliament and the Municipality, were the causes which had given rise to the Provisional Government. The Gaetan Court, which was equally desirous to recover the State for the Church, and the honour and profit of absolute empire for the clergy, facilitated the schemes of the insurrectionists, and opened the door for the Constituent Assembly, by disclaiming the advice of the Constitutional party and the good offices and assistance of Piedmont. The excommunication with which both electors and elected were menaced, who should have anything to do with the Assembly, had only played into the hands of the Republicans; yet, notwithstanding

this, the Republic, which was but the creation of a few, had no vitality, and would have expired without honour and without commiseration, if the Gaetan Court, by calling in foreign aid, had not exasperated all those to whom foreign invasion is, and ought to be, hateful. Menaces and dangers strengthened the Mazzinian party, which was always foremost in embracing extreme measures. It knew its own wants and wishes (a great advantage in critical conjunctures), and it wished for all which might profit its master, who was, in point of fact, Dictator. The French, when they attacked Rome, and General Oudinot, when he attempted it to his loss on the 30th of April, began the history of the Mazzinian Republic. Whoever seeks for the causes which led to the events that took place in Rome; whoever studies them in a calm and impartial spirit, will attribute them, not to the crimes committed by a few assassins alone, or to the malice of a few conspirators, or the intoxication of a few amongst the people; but having taken into account these and similar accessories, the extraordinary times, and the indifference of the multitude, will come to the conclusion that Italy was deeply indebted, for its history of the Mazzinian revolution, to France and to the clergy. In this history we read, it is true, vapid declamations, servile imitations, puerile trifles, atrocious acts of vengeance, and heinous crimes; but we also read of combats, victories, lavish expenditure of life, perils, and temerity. We see noble-minded youths, who fall with arms in their hands, and fiery leaders, who defy the god of battles,

count their wounds, and exhibit them with pride; we behold traces of the steel and of bullets on monuments sacred to religion and the arts; memorials these which survive in the hearts of men far longer than the events and the errors of Governments; memories which comfort the conquered and disturb the joy of the victors; which console the aged, strengthen the resolves of men, kindle the enthusiasm of the young, enamour maidens, and make mothers proud; which furnish food for hope, a bond for conspiracies, and a creed for national redemption!

BOOK VII.

FROM THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE YEAR 1850.

CHAPTER I.

PROVISIONS MADE BY THE FRENCH IN ROME.—M. DE COURCELLES.—HIS CHOICE OF MINISTERS.—HIS ADVICE.—THE GENERALS.—CHARACTER OF THEIR ADVISERS.—TESTIMONY BORNE BY THE FRENCH TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REPUBLICAN FINANCES.—CONDITION OF THE TREASURY.—QUANTITY OF PAPER MONEY.—BASE MONEY AND SMALL NOTES.—CALCULATION.—GALLI, COMMISSIONER OF FINANCE.—PREDOMINANT DESIRES AT GAETA.—URGENT REQUESTS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS.—ANSWER OF THE POPE.—THEIR DESIRES AND PROCEEDINGS.—REMARKS.—ILLIBERAL DECREES AND DEMONSTRATIONS AT ROME.—PROCLAMATION DY GENERAL OUDINOT.—RELIGIOUS POMP IN ST. PETER'S.—ACCESSORIES OF THE FESTIVAL.—NOMINATION OF THE MUNICIPAL BODY.—THE POLICE.—REGULATIONS.—RESTORATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION.—LETTER OF GENERAL OUDINOT.—MANIFESTO OF THE POPE.—OBSERVATIONS.—FEELINGS AND SENTIMENTS OF THE ROMANS.—EVENTS.—BANQUETS AND FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES.—CARDINALS DELLA GENGA, VANICELLI, AND ALTIERI.—NOTICES OF THEM.—THEIR PROCLAMATION.—COUNCILLORS OF THE CARDINAL TRIUMVIRS.—MINISTERS.—NOTICES OF THEM.

As soon as they were masters of Rome, the French began to make the regulations usual with armies in a conquered city, but less severe than those made by the Austrians in the provinces. There was a pompous display of soldiers and a military police, but no ferocious bands, no insolence, no punishments; the citizens were rather requested to deliver up their arms than deprived

of them by force; the soldiers who were willing to enter the Pope's service were allowed to retain them, and passports were given to all who wished to leave the State. M. de Gourcelles, who had been charged to endeavour to moderate the views of the Gaetan Court, applied himself to seek for persons who might administer affairs provisionally, and endeavoured to make good selections, whilst, being a religious as well as a liberal man, he was always hoping that he should be able to reinstate the Pope in public opinion, and to restore order to Rome; to place the temporal Government on a sure foundation, and authority on the reputation of respectable magistrates. At first, therefore, without the wish, and little to the satisfaction of Gaeta, kind words were spoken, good selections made, and no acts of severity performed; the Magistrates of the Commune elected by the people were retained in their offices; the aid and advice of honourable men requested; Lunati was elected Commissioner of Finance, Piacentini of Justice, Cavalieri of Public Works, and other posts were assigned to others. But the Generals spoke and acted after a different fashion, and being entirely ignorant of the condition of the State, of the wants and desires of the people, and of the nature and character of the clerical Government, they were crammed with all kinds of miraculous stories about the clergy, and sacrileges committed by the Liberals, by the clique who paid court to them. Moreover, as right-minded men are not accustomed to force themselves on the intimacy of strangers, or to cringe to them, the Constitution-

alists, aware of the immutable designs of Gaeta, and the uncertain intentions of ever-changing France, held themselves aloof; even those among the Illiberals who were persons of influence and importance, were kept back, if not by conscience, at any rate by shame and the fear of popular castigation; and thus the Generals were surrounded by the ignorant, obscure, and base—enemies of liberty and Italy—enemies, also, of the good name and reputation of France. Obsequious, flatterers, impudent, they calumniated honourable men, lauded the evil, mocked the estimable, exalted the mean; according to them they knew everybody; they were acquainted with everything; they assumed the holiness of saints, the faith of apostles, the fortitude of martyrs; what perils had they not incurred for the sake of the Pope, of religion, and of the French! how much, alas, had they not suffered! And yet among these very men, who had become the oracles of the French Generals, were some who had pocketed pay from the Republic, others who had requested favours from it, or who had at the same time secretly demanded and obtained salaries and alms from Gaeta and the Republic.

General Oudinot, after he had in vain entreated Valentini and his colleagues to remain in office, deputed three officers to receive the cash and the portfolios of the Treasury. They executed their commission on the 7th and 8th of July, and certified not only that the cash was intact and the accounts correct, but that the finances had been administered with such order, rectitude, and ability as was astonishing, when

compared with the times and the usages of the clerical Administration, of which they left a written testimony. There was in the exchequer 190,953 scudi in coin and paper notes, 406,287 scudi in credits, bank-notes, and bills of exchange; in all, 597,240 scudi. Valentini delivered up all the paper prepared for making notes; the instruments necessary for manufacturing them, and an account of the notes which had been issued up to the 6th of July; an account of the metal which was in the mint, and of all the base money coined; a copy of the laws which sanctioned the issue of the different kinds of money; in a word, every document which appertained to the finances and to the Treasury. The Pontifical Government had issued Treasury Bonds to the amount of 2,500,000 scudi; the province of Bologna had issued to the amount of 200,000 scudi; the Constitutional Parliament had provided for the issue of 1,200,000 scudi; the Provisional Government to the amount of 251,000 scudi; so that when the Republic was established, there were 4,151,000 scudi in circulation. The Constituent Assembly had given money value to 1,100,000 scudi of notes of the Bank of Rome; the Triumvirs created 1,000,000 scudi of Bonds of the Republic on the 29th April; the Assembly created 4,000,000 scudi on the 15th June, but only 1,963,000 scudi had been put into circulation, because the Republican Commissioners of Finance did not use the authority which they possessed of issuing the other 3,003,700 scudi [2,037,000?] of paper money. Thus the sum total of paper money in circulation at the period when the Pontifical Government was restored, including the notes of the bank, amounted to 7,828,300

scudi;* 1,000,000 scudi in base money and small notes might have been created by law, but the Commissioners had not circulated more than 775,565 scudi; therefore, if we take the sum total both of base coin and paper money, the Commissioners having had the power of putting into circulation 6,000,000 scudi, they had only issued 2,738,565 scudi, or rather, as they left 184,315 scudi in the exchequer, which was consigned to the French, these honourable Commissioners only circulated 2,554,249 scudi of base coin and paper money [2,554,250?].

Lunati sent in his resignation in the course of a few days, and Angelo Galli, that tangler of accounts, of whom I have made mention elsewhere, was appointed Commissioner of Finance. As an old accountant of the Treasury, he had created such confusion by means of his arithmetic, that none but himself could put it to rights; treasurers and ministers were obliged to have recourse to himself to interpret his inexplicable hieroglyphics. The good Cardinal Tosti had no esteem for him, and had retained him in office only because he had become an indispensable instrument. The crafty Antonelli, successor of Tosti, could do no less, though he confessed he did not like him; the Consulta of Pius IX., which esteemed him at his real value, had been obliged to apply to him that they might not get bewildered in the labyrinth of his figures. Monsignor Morichini, when he wished to make up a balance-sheet for 1847,

* The sum total of the sums here given is 8,214,000 scudi, the 385,700 scudi which is deducted by Signor Farini may possibly be that portion of the assets remaining in the Treasury (406,287 scudi), which consisted of bank-notes.—Tr.

was obliged to trust to Galli's statement of accounts for the previous ten years, during which he had spent much time and gained much money without rendering an account; the lay Ministry, whether Constitutional or Republican, had been obliged to apply to Galli when they wished to have any information respecting the peculiar system of arithmetic, which was his secret, his magic mystery, his good genius. Thus he had always been able to keep afloat, or had never completely sunk; thus he afterwards became the head of the Pontifical Finance, though every one knew that there was not a grain of sound political science in his confused brain, and that he had gained no very honourable name by having been once discovered in the act of smuggling; by giving large sums of money to his relatives; by mixing himself up with Government contractors, and by having got into his hands the property of an unfortunate nephew of whom he was guardian.

It was with displeasure that Gaeta had seen M. de Courcelles setting himself about the primary acts of the restoration in a conciliatory spirit. It could not bear with patience that the French should delay to restore the arms and forms of the Pontifical Government with public solemnity, and place in office the men who were its devoted adherents. The Ambassadors of France, in the meantime, were urgent that the Pope should publish a Manifesto of a moderate and mild, if not of a liberal, Government; but the Pope, who, prior to the taking of Rome, had constantly replied to similar requests by saying that the respect due to his own dignity and authority would not allow him to take any

steps which the world at large might imputé to the foreigners who were counselling and assisting him, answered that he could not publish a Manifesto for his people, until the French had completely restored his Government in the city now occupied by their army. "It would not appear," he said, "the spontaneous provision of a free and independent Sovereign, but a condition imposed by his protectors; let them complete their work first, and he would speak afterwards; let them destroy all the relics of the Revolution, for it was quite time to do so; let them restore the Papal Government in reality, and then the Pope would do his part, as became a Pope." The French, impatient to get him back to Rome, and fearful lest he might throw himself into the arms of the Austrians, thought of nothing now but how to please him and the Court, which was already raising its head to the skies, and aiming at absolute dominion in its heart. The Parisian Government had undertaken the task of conquering Rome for two purposes. One was to hinder the influence of Austria from preponderating throughout the whole of Italy, and to find means for enabling the counsels, or, as they say, the influence, of France in some degree to prevail; the other to moderate the return of the past system, and to establish a form of government which might restore the people to tranquillity. If France had, from the beginning, persevered in carrying out both these objects with sagacity, she would either have succeeded or she would, at least, have secured her own reputation and dignity. But that required patience, modesty, and prudence,

qualities in which the French are especially deficient, for they are always impatient to cut all difficulties with the sword, and finish in hot haste deeds which time alone can bring to completion. Before consenting to the Roman crusade, the French Government (and here it would have had England on its side, if not its associate) might have demanded that the terms of the restoration should be agreed upon. In that case, neither Austria, Spain, nor Naples would have been able to attempt or carry out any violent measures against the will of France. Having landed at Cività Vecchia without any stipulation, and made the other invaders understand, as indeed they did, that they were determined not to be interfered with in the taking of Rome, the French might have warned the Court at Gaeta that they would not retake Rome for the Pope, unless honourable and moderate conditions of government were first conceded. I know well that the Papal Court would not have easily yielded; perhaps, indeed, it would have raised a noise in the world, certainly it would have procrastinated obstinately, according to its wont; but if the French in their turn had also procrastinated obstinately, they would at last have triumphed over the obstinacy of the Court, for they had arms, and against arms complaints are of no avail, and the other crusaders did not wish, nor had they the power, to make war against France, merely to please the clergy. Instead of this, the French wanted to hurry on too fast: "To Rome! to Rome!" they cried; "when we are at Rome, the Pope—excellent man that he is—will yield to our wishes from gratitude; he will be benevolent to

the people from his love of justice, and humane and liberal for conscience sake; and if he should yield, in spite of us, to the arts of his counsellors, we shall still be masters of Rome." So they went to Rome; and that which, in their opinion, was to be a triumph over Austria, over Naples and Gaeta, turned out to be a defeat for France. And so it ought to have been; for as they had conquered Rome for the Pope, they were obliged to give it up to the Pope—and as he wanted to have uncontrolled power over it, it was necessary to restore it to him at his pleasure, unless it pleased France to recommence the Revolution, which she neither wished nor could. In short, the French having brought themselves, by their own mistakes, under the necessity of either offending against the sovereignty of the Pope to please the people, and secure the preservation of their own dignity, or of oppressing the people and giving themselves a bad name in order to please the Pope, the triumph of the Gaetan Court was secured.

It was already known in Rome that the Pontifical Government would be restored in its integrity; the *Speranza dell' Epoca*, a journal which had demanded the restitution of the Statute, was condemned to silence; all liberal writings prohibited; priests and monks and their followers went about seeking suffrages, woe to those who gave or asked for liberal votes. French Generals and French Commissioners seemed turned into puppets of the priests; a long robe, a little silk mantle, a hood, threw them into ecstacies; there were bowings and scrapings and grimaces without

end. The Duke de Reggio, boasting with singular modesty on the services which he had rendered to the Church, requested the aid of their *valuable wisdom* from the Deputation who complimented him in the name of the clergy; he styled the clergy and the army *pillars* of the present, guiding stars of the future, both the one and the other troops militant; the same kind of discipline existed in both, they had the same social ministry. On the 14th July he published the following proclamation:—

"Romans! Since our entry into the city, numerous indications have proved that Rome was only waiting the moment in which, freed from a rule of oppression and anarchy, she might anew give proof of her fidelity and gratitude towards the generous Pontiff, to whom she is indebted for her initiation into freedom. France has never doubted the existence of these sentiments. By restoring the temporal sovereignty of the Head of the Church in the capital of the Christian world, she realises the wishes of the whole Catholic world. Ever since his assumption of the supreme dignity, the illustrious Pius IX. has given proofs of the generous sentiments by which he is animated towards his people. The Sovereign Pontiff appreciates your desires and your necessities. FRANCE KNOWS IT; your fidelity will receive its reward."

Nor was there wanting religious pomp. Whenever was there a lack of *Te Deums?* On the 15th of July the artillery which, only a few days before, had terrified the people of Rome with its thunder, and sent destruction into their city, resounded now in honour of a festival; those very bells which had sounded the tocsin, sent forth peals of joy, and the rejoicing troops marched to St. Peter's, where swarms of generals, colonels, and ambassadors, with crowds of the curious,

were assembled, and Cardinal Castracane intoned the canticle of thanksgiving, and gave the blessing. After the sacred came the profane. Cardinal Tosti preached a sermon, addressed to General Oudinot, *to the Liberator of Rome, who had saved it from the horrors of war, who had cleansed it from the monsters which dishonour the human race.* He celebrated the General and his enterprise in high-sounding phrases; he said that *all the good wept over the French blood which had been shed;* he gave thanks because the Liberator had reinstated him in the office of President of the Hospital of San Michele. Speechifying having thus begun in the Church, General Oudinot's turn came next; he said that the merit of the enterprise was due to France, not to him; and to Providence the victory which had freed Rome from a *foreign yoke*, and restored the temporal Government of the Pope, *amidst the approbation of the whole Catholic world.* Then Cardinal Tosti replied that the words of the General *were dictated by the Spirit of God*, who would bless France and him. Thus, within the walls of St. Peter's; outside, in the Piazza of the Vatican, one of the popular orators preached another sermon on the triumph of religion and the Pope, and the General answered, that *France was the instrument employed by Providence;* that the restoration of the Pontifical Government was *a social and religious work;* that he had made war, *not on the Romans,* BUT ON THE FOREIGNERS!

The Magistrates of the Municipal Council having tendered their resignations, the General nominated a Council, presided over by Prince Pietro Odelscalchi, in

which some excellent and liberal men were associated with others who were distinguished only by their devotion to the fortunes of the clergy. The French had placed an officer of the name of Chappuis as Commissioner over the police department; then a person of the name of Rouxeau, with a man called Mangin as his secretary; but meantime, the old Papal police was gradually revived, and undertook the execution of the harsh proceedings and acts in which the French would not participate. The publication of any journal whatever was forbidden, all assemblages prohibited, and not only gatherings in the streets, but even groups of more than five citizens. The Civic Guard was disarmed, all the soldiers banished from Rome, all foreigners sent away, together with all Italians and persons from the provinces suspected of attachment to the Republic, or of aversion to the reviving Government. Freddi, Allai, and others, who had been a long time in prison, were set at liberty (and this was justice); many unfornate citizens of Faenza, once the arm of the Sanfedist faction, afterwards the mark for the vengeance of the ultra-Liberals, were set at liberty (and this was justice also); these men, however, were not only set at liberty, but they were placed in the service of the police, and this was a foolish and factious step. The tribunals were all restored, lay, mixed, and ecclesiastical; the Holy Office, also, with all its ancient jurisdictions, of which the General constituted himself the public defender in the following letter, which he ordered to be printed:—

"The regular course of justice has been interrupted for many months. It is in order to remedy such a state of

things, no less prejudicial to the interests of the people of Rome, than to those of public morality, that the appointment of a Commissioner General of Grace and Justice has been made.

"It is the province of his Holiness alone to determine the limits of all the jurisdictions, and it is not for me to make other than provisional arrangements, in order to leave entire freedom to the Administration, which the Holy Father will not delay to establish. On the other hand, it has been deemed expedient that the causes depending on the ecclesiastical tribunals should be reserved. From this it results, Monsignor, that the rights of your jurisdiction cannot be infringed, and I shall be the first to defend them against any attack which may be made upon them."

As soon as the French had restored all the clerical institutions in Rome, as the Austrians had done in the provinces, or rather with greater pomp and more noise, and with an astonishing degree of humility and submission, the Pope issued a manifesto from Gaeta on the 17th of July, which was published at Rome on the 21st, in this form:—

"Pius P. P. IX. To his most beloved Subjects.

"God hath raised his right hand on high, and hath commanded the tempestuous sea of anarchy and impiety to be stilled. He hath guided the Catholic arms to sustain the rights of oppressed humanity; of the faith which has been attacked; and of the Holy See and of Our Sovereignty. Eternal praise be to Him, who in the midst of justice remembers mercy.

"Most beloved Subjects, though Our heart was overwhelmed with grief amidst the vortex of fearful vicissitudes, and at sight of the so great suffering endured by the Church, by religion and yourselves, it hath not lost any of the affection with which it hath always loved you, and will love you ever. We will hasten, by Our wishes, the day which shall bring Us amongst you once more, and when it shall have arrived, We will return, filled with

the lively desire to bring you comfort, and the will to occupy Ourself with all Our might about the things which concern your real good, applying certain remedies to most serious evils, and consoling Our good subjects, who, whilst they look for institutions such as may satisfy their necessities, desire, even as We desire, to see the liberty and the independence of the Supreme Pontiff, so necessary to the tranquillity of the Catholic world, guaranteed.

"Meantime We are about to nominate, for the re-establishment of public business, a Commission which, accredited with full powers, and assisted by a Ministry, may conduct the government of the State. The benediction of the Lord, which We have ever implored when far distant from you, We now implore with still greater fervour, praying that it may descend abundantly upon you, and it is a great consolation to Our soul to trust that all those who have hitherto been determined to render themselves incapable of enjoying its fruits, through their transgressions, may become worthy of it, by means of a sincere and lasting repentance."

Thus the Pontiff broke the silence which was so painful to the French; but he did not, as yet, explain himself with regard to the institutions and the form of government; he received the French into his favour, and deputed their Commissioners to govern in the capital conquered and garrisoned by them; but he would not yet go to Rome himself, for he was still waiting for larger guarantees and further experience. Nor could the French gain any other result from their perverse system of policy than the driblets, with which they were obliged to be content, at the sacrifice of dignity; and notwithstanding all the boasting which they had made, and still continued to utter, and the vain jabbering which sounded very differently in Paris from that which went on in Rome, and in Rome very

differently from that which went on at Gaeta, could they hope that Pius would consent to be led back to Rome unless they offered him larger guarantees and incurred greater humiliation to themselves, that is, while they showed any intention of protecting him after their own fashion, and dictating the law to him. Meantime they feigned to be satisfied with the Manifesto from Gaeta, and continued to hold out hopes of great liberality; they boasted that they had overcome all resistance, and hinted that the institutions which the Pope had promised would be something stupendous. But the people of Rome could ill accommodate themselves to the restoration of the sacerdotal oligarchy now that the national spirit had been for three years past awakened in Rome, the sweets of freedom tasted for some time by the good, and the fruits of unbridled licence by the evil-disposed—now, too, that the desire for lay emancipation and civil equality was just and universal, Latin pride resuscitated, and plebeian cupidity sharpened. As the number of those who had fought for Italy and Rome, and who had experienced the joys of victory and the sorrows of defeat, was great; many the wounded in Italian and Roman combats; fresh the memory of the dead in the hearts of their relations and friends; many the families bereft of their beloved ones, who had been sent into exile; as the Romans knew but too well the tender mercies of the Court, and the blessings of the fundamental institutions which had been already restored, it was natural that they should scorn the celebrated Manifesto, and hold the French in contempt and hatred. Therefore, although the French were

strong as regarded their army, and the Romans defenceless, though they had full power over the citizens, from whom all liberty had been taken; and though the clergy was puffed up with pride and honour,—still, in spite of all this, insults and outrages were committed in Rome against the clergy and the French soldiers, and the temper of the city was exceedingly threatening. So much so, that loud and bitter complaints were uttered in the public streets against the clerical dominion, and the same kind of calumnies launched forth against the Pope and the Cardinals, which had been heard during the very heat of the Mazzinian rule: the Manifesto of the Pope was torn in pieces, and covered with mud, whilst the French officers met with nothing but sour looks; they were alone in the streets, alone in the theatres, alone in every place of public resort; not a salutation, not a shake of the hand was given them; even those who paid them court in private, dared not show them any courtesy in public; whoever ventured to do so was a mark for the finger of scorn; every woman was unsparingly abused who did not give them a frown. They were greatly annoyed at all this, but as the discipline of the army was strict, and many of the officers and soldiers, actuated by kindly feelings, made allowances for the causes which had produced such contempt and irritation, they patiently endured behaviour such as soldiers in general readily resent. Whilst the generals and superior officers attributed the dislike of the citizens and the insults of the populace to the perfidy of factions, and thought that they merited thanks for the enterprise

they had undertaken, those in the lower ranks excused them; the former made a show of devotion to the clergy, the latter of contempt. It chanced more than once, that, on some insult or other being offered to a prelate or ecclesiastic in the streets of Rome, in the presence of French officers and soldiers, these men, far from defending them, burst out into roars of laughter; and it was quite com[illegible] to hear them in the cafés, and shops, and streets, casting abuse, in a loud voice, on the restored Government, and jeering at the priests. Thus the restoration of clerical authority was received with insulting words by the very men who were supporting it with their arms. On the other hand, the clergy, who were cognisant of all this, and who were continually suspecting French opinions and acts, complained about it amongst the devout, and were well pleased that the citizens should behave sulkily to their allies and defenders. The heads of the army by their hypocrisy, the clergy by their simulation, both parties by pomp, magnificence, and splendour, fancied, all the while, that they could dazzle and edify that clear-sighted people, who were deriding both, and devoting them to Pasquin.

On the 22nd July, General Oudinot and his Staff went in state to hear mass in St. John Lateran, and after mass they accepted an invitation from the Canons to partake of a magnificent collation. Amongst the toasts that were given, they saluted the Pontiff with good wishes and tumultuous applause, and the Government Gazette inscribed among the annals of Rome (Coppi, the writer of the annals, compiled it)

an account of this great event, of the collation and the sacred toasts. On the 24th, when the obsequies of the French who had died in battle were celebrated, in the church of St. Louis, there was a great concourse of prelates and Roman priests, and the soldiers who had enlisted in the Pope's service were brought (poor creatures) into the church to pray for the French. It would have been a piece of Christian piety if, on the other hand, the French and the clergy had celebrated the obsequies of the Romans. But as no pious rites were performed for their souls, these services fell like an insult on the hearts of the mothers and brothers of those who had been conquered and had gone down into the grave; hence, great and just was the indignation and anger excited when, during a funeral service performed for a youth named Nardoni, killed by a cannon ball, his weeping mother and sister, who were scattering flowers on his bier, were seized in the church by the police; and when the friends and comrades of Colonel Mellara, who were chanting a requiem over his grave, were ignominiously expelled from the sacred precincts.

On the last day of July General Oudinot resigned the civil authority into the hands of Cardinals Della Genga, Vannicelli, and Altieri, Commissioners of the Pope, and already mentioned in these pages. Cardinal Della Genga, nephew of Pope Leo XII., was endowed by nature with an acute intellect and hasty passions; by education, rank, and habits, with pride and ambition; haughty and abrupt, he was frank in his dislike to liberty and liberals, to novelties and innovators. He

had conducted himself in such a way at Ferrara, of which place he was Archbishop, that whether he really erred, or was not careful to avoid the appearance of evil, certain it is that there were scandalous tales told about him and a certain nun. There was also some scandal afloat about a dispute which he had had with the postmaster, who would not, without permission from the Government, give him certain letters that were directed to some other person, but which he wanted to read because they concerned a lawsuit in which he was interested. Rome sent the permission; but afterwards the Pope deputed him to govern the provinces of Urbino and Pesaro, either because the scandal at Ferrara was becoming serious, or because Della Genga had shown some aptitude for administrative and political affairs, in which he had been engaged on one occasion, when the Cardinal Legate of Ferrara was absent. Whilst he was at Pesaro, he acted with uprightness and ability, but gave proofs of an impetuous disposition and despotic character. He was averse to the election of Pope Pius IX., averse to the amnesty and to the reforms. When he was removed from office, he remained for some time absent from Rome, either because he would not bend the knee to the reforming Pope, or because Pius IX. did not wish to have him near him; for Pius called him a dangerous man, and looked upon him as his only enemy amongst the Cardinals. Cardinal Vannicelli was a man of no ability and without education, raised to the dignity of the purple by the favour of the Gregorian Court and by the personal friendship of Gregory. He

had distinguished himself by double dealing and illiberal zeal as Pro-Legate at Ravenna, Governor of Rome, and Cardinal Legate of Bologna. Pius IX. had removed him from office, and deputed him to the Presidency of the Registry of Lands' Office. Altieri, who had belonged to a distinguished Roman family, had been employed in embassies. He had left behind him, at the Court of Vienna, the reputation of being a courteous prelate, entirely devoted to Prince Metternich. As President of Rome and Comarca, he had appeared to be friendly to reform; amongst the Cardinals he was one of the most favourable to, and favoured by Pius IX.

The Cardinal Commissioners, on their arrival in Rome, issued the following proclamation from the Quirinal:—

"THE GOVERNING COMMISSION OF STATE, IN THE NAME OF HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX., HAPPILY REIGNING, TO ALL THE SUBJECTS OF HIS TEMPORAL DOMINION:—

"Divine Providence, by means of the glorious and invincible power of the Catholic arms, has saved the population of the Pontifical States, and especially that of the City of Rome, the seat and centre of our most holy religion, from the most tempestuous vortex of the blindest and darkest passions. Hence, faithful to the promise announced in His *Motu proprio*, given at Gaeta, on the 17th of July, the Holy Father has sent us to you, with full authority to repair, in the best manner possible, and as speedily as may be, the serious evils caused by anarchy and by the despotism of the minority.

"Our first care will be that religion and morality may be respected by all as the basis and foundation of society; that justice may have its free and regular course, without distinction of persons; and that the administration of public affairs may

receive that re-arrangement and advancement which it so much requires after the scandalous mismanagement occasioned by demagogues without judgment or reputation.

"In order to bring about these important results, we shall employ the aid of persons distinguished not less by their intelligence and their zeal than by the confidence they enjoy, and which contributes so much to the success of business.

"It will be necessary to the regular order of affairs that men of integrity should be placed at the head of the respective departments, and that they should be conversant with the branch to which they will have to apply themselves with the utmost devotedness. We shall shortly nominate those who will have to preside over the Home Department, the Police, Justice, Finance, and the Army, as well as Public Works and Commerce; Foreign Affairs will remain under the conduct of his Eminence the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State, who will have a substitute for the conduct of ordinary affairs during his absence from Rome.

"Confidence will thus be restored, we hope, to every order and class of persons; whilst the Holy Father, in the benevolence of his heart, will be occupied with projecting such improvements and such institutions as shall be compatible with His dignity, with the lofty power of the Supreme Pontiff, with the nature of the State, the preservation of which interests the whole Catholic world, and with the real wants of His most beloved subjects."

The Commissioners, whom the Romans denominated *the Red Triumvirs*, elected the Prelate Mertel, auditor of the *Rota*, the Consistorial Advocate Bartoli, Prince Barberini, and the Advocate Vannutelli, to be their counsellors and coadjutors. The first was a learned man, the second an intriguer, the third severe, the fourth crafty—all of them, by disposition, habit, profession, and the temper of the times, desirous of a strong Government; but neither Mertel, Barberini, nor

Vannutelli were averse to moderate measures, whilst Bartoli yielded to all the caprices of the Court. They afterwards elected Galli as Pro-Minister of Finance, Monsignor Savelli as Minister of the Interior, the Consistorial Advocate Gian Santo Minister of Grace and Justice, and later on, Camillo Jacobini Minister of Commerce and Public Works. Courageous, harsh, and violent, the Corsican Savelli had long enjoyed the reputation, and well he merited it, of being covetous and avaricious; he had good sense, was energetic, and not troubled by scruples in the choice of means suited to secure fortune and profit to himself and the clergy, and trouble and defeat to his enemies. Head of the brigands who had disturbed the province of Ascoli and the neighbouring districts, he rewarded them as soon as the Government was restored, not through their efforts indeed, but by foreign aid; he gave the priest Taliani 10,000 scudi, to others he gave smaller sums, and placed some in situations in the police and the army. As Commissioner for the Marches, he pocketed the pay of seven delegates, because there were seven provinces under his jurisdiction, and he would be paid in gold and silver, not paper. Gian Santo had the reputation of being a man of the strictest integrity. He was entirely devoted to the Pope and the Government, and opposed to novelties. Jacobini, an honest farmer and a wine merchant, was of a yielding, easy disposition, a man inclined to good, and not susceptible of hatred or bad passions.

These were the Governors.

CHAPTER II.

MONSIGNOR BEDINI.—TERMS OF HIS MANIFESTO.—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.—DISCUSSION WITH MONSIGNOR BEDINI.—OPINIONS AND ADDRESS OF THE MUNICIPALITY.—DEPUTATION TO GAETA.—FINAL RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.—PENALTY IMPOSED UPON IT.—PROVISIONS AND ACTS OF THE AUSTRIANS.—PUNISHMENT OF BASSI AND LIVRAGHI.—REGULATIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CARDINAL TRIUMVIRS.—PAPER MONEY.—ORDINANCES PASSED BY THE COURT OF CENSORSHIP.—COURT OF REVISION.—EXILE OF MAMIANI.—TROUBLES OF PANTALEONE.—THE FRENCH GENERALS AND ENVOYS.—NOTICES RESPECTING THE JEWS IN ROME.—SIEGE AND SEARCH OF THE GHETTO.—REMARKS.—GENERAL OUDINOT AT GAETA.—HIS NOTE TO THE POPE.—THE ANSWER.—ANNOYANCE FELT BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO EDOUARD NEY.—PROCEEDINGS OF NEY AT ROME.—GENERAL ROSTOLAN.—HIS WORDS.

Monsignor Bedini, who, in the quality of Commissioner Extraordinary, governed the four Legations, was a young prelate, born at Sinigallia, in a humble rank of life; he was of an avaricious disposition, meddling, courteous, inclined first to liberal demonstrations, then to illiberal deeds. He was beloved by Pius IX., but, as Commissioner for the Pope, he had not enjoyed either complete or extensive power, for Gorzhowski, who styled himself the civil and military Governor, domineered in such a way, that Monsignor Bedini was made to appear more like the puppet of Austria than

as a Pontifical prelate. The Manifesto of the 26th May, which settled the basis of government, was signed by Gorzhowski first, and then by the prelate; it provided that the commission should be *assisted* by four Councillors, selected, one for each province; that every province should be governed by a delegate, with a governing Committee; that the secrecy of letters should be inviolate; the censorship of the press restored; the different functionaries reinstated in the situations which they had held up to the 16th of November; that the municipal bodies should be temporarily retained; and the new provisions made for mortgages, and the tariff, established. At first, Monsignor Bedini sought the counsel of men of reputation, nor did he seem averse to the friends of free institutions; but on the 14th of June, the Municipal Council having resolved to send a deputation to Gaeta, to request *the maintenance of the Constitutional Statute* from his Holiness, *and the establishment of a national body of troops, so that the foreign occupation might cease as soon as possible*, and finally to request that a *union or alliance with the other Italian princes might be formed*, the Commissioner wrote to the Magistrates, reminded them bitterly of the vote they had recorded on the 1st of May against ecclesiastical rule, intimated that it was unbecoming in them, and displeasing to himself and to their Prince, that the very same Council should resolve to intercede for liberal promises, and the selfsame Magistrates go to Gaeta as intercessors, and finished by saying that he could not therefore accede to their scheme. The Council replied, that on the 1st of May

they had taken the only measures which were compatible with the condition in which the City and the State then were, and that their conduct merited praise, not reproof, for that as they had been forced at the command of the Government, and by popular tyranny, to take a part, they had passed a vote which was neither favourable to the Republic nor absolutely contrary to the temporal dominion of the Pope; they had only declared themselves opposed to a *special mode* of that Government, *a mode which all the Potentates of Europe had disapproved for a long time past by solemn protocols, and which the Prince himself had, so to speak, utterly condemned.* If it should be more agreeable to Monsignor Bedini, they would wait until the Pope should return to his State, before they made their wishes known to him; but meantime they believed that the expression of the wishes and hopes of the majority could never be unacceptable to the august Prince, who had taken care, in his encyclical letter, always to separate the factious agitators among his subjects, from the majority who were well intentioned and moderate. "To so benevolent a pontiff as Pius IX.," they wrote, "the ingratitude and perversity of some, can never prove an obstacle to the good of all. It cannot be displeasing to that illustrious Reformer, entirely intent on securing the happiness of the people confided to him by Providence, to find that, after so many painful vicissitudes, and so many misfortunes, the peaceful and lasting re-establishment of his kingdom has become possible. The fundamental idea of the Council, by which it truly expresses the opinion of the whole city, and we may

venture to add, of the State, is that of a real and lasting concord between Prince and people. This concord has for its basis, the maintenance of the constitutional privileges already granted to these provinces, desirous to be governed in the same mode as that which obtains at the present day amongst all civilised nations."

The prelate answered anew, that *they had better delay the expression of their wishes to a more favourable opportunity;* and advised that the deputation should content themselves for the present with a simple testimony of homage and devotion. On which Zannolini, the senator, took his departure for Gaeta, accompanied by Count Carlo Marsili, and Gaetano Zucchini, all excellent men, who ought to have been dear to the Pope, if those had been dear to him who maintained their fidelity intact, in the midst of so many dangers, and in spite of so many opposite examples. They were courteously received at Gaeta, but soon perceived that the Court did not give them credit for the fidelity which they had maintained towards the Statute, nor for their wish to restore it; and on their return to Bologna, they learnt that the Commissioner had received orders to dismiss and dissolve the Municipality. In consequence of which, the Council unanimously passed the following resolution by ballot at their last sitting:—

"The Communal Council, in conformity with the declarations already put forth, feels it to be its duty, in the act of its being dissolved, to reiterate the expression of the wishes and desires of the country.

"It is firmly persuaded that the restoration of the Prince

will not be unaccompanied by the re-establishment of those representative institutions which could not be withheld without prejudice to the country.

"The Council is persuaded that the best guarantee for order and progress will be found in the consolidation of constitutional liberty, and it invokes, with loyalty and confidence, the preservation of the Statute, as the best pledge of civilisation and concord.

"Finally, the Council confides the carrying into effect of these desires to the municipal authority, which will be its successor."

The Pontifical Commissioner and the Austrian General conferred together in their turn, and resolved that a fine of 2000 scudi should be imposed on those who had passed the resolution, and that each should be responsible for all; it was accordingly paid. Ravenna, Forli, Ferrara, and the other cities, which were on the point of selecting deputies, to go to Gaeta to petition for free institutions, abstained from doing so, being warned by the example of Bologna, that even the liberty of petition was denied, and sent a merely complimentary deputation.

As Gaeta had deputed a Prelate to act as Commissioner Extraordinary to govern the four Legations, so it sent other Prelates to other parts of the State, to fulfil the same office, and these Commissioners nominated Pro-Legates over the administrative departments: most of them were laymen, some temperate in their views, others servile; but they were all of them magistrates without power, subject to the prelatic Commissioner, and to the caprices of foreign soldiers.

A uniform system was everywhere pursued; a state

of siege, as they called it; Censorship; the Police half military, half civil, but more or less severe, in the different provinces of the State, according to the character and habits of the various foreigners who occupied them, and sometimes in the same province, according to the humours of the different commanders. The Austrians did not interpret or administer the "state of siege" with the moderation shown by the French, but made a regulation, that *crimes, transgressions,* and OMISSIONS should be visited either with summary judgment, or subjected to trial by courts-martial; they gave warning, that *summary judgment* DID NOT RECOGNISE ANY PENALTY EXCEPTING THAT OF DEATH, and that it took cognisance of, and judged as *high treason, every action directly aimed at forcibly changing the form of Government, or causing, or increasing dangers from without, directed against the State; the detention, concealment, conveying away of arms and ammunition; participation in insurrection, in sedition,* with arms or *without; unlawful enrolments, or attempts to induce desertion; any resistance or violence towards the soldiery; theft or pillage.* The courts-martial punished by imprisonment, varying from a month to one or *more years,* and by the imposition of fines the circulation of proclamations or *revolutionary writings;* any outrage whatever against the soldiers, *the wearing of any revolutionary or party badges, which were not either Austrian or Pontifical; the singing of revolutionary songs, every kind of political demonstration, all disobedience to the orders of the soldiers, public meetings, or being present at any political demonstrations, disregard of police regula-*

tions, transgressions against the Censorship of the press, hospitality shown to refugees without denouncing them, defacing or pulling down the Papal arms. Deeds followed words; blood, proclamations: seven individuals, during the months of June and July, suffered the extreme penalty of the law, under sentence passed by the Austrians; two had been convicted of theft, three of false informations, two of the concealment of arms: on the 8th of August, Bassi, the Barnabite monk, and Livraghi suffered death. Gorzhowski sent them to the scaffold, drawn in a cart like assassins, without any form of trial, not even military, and without the consolation of the Viaticum, which Bassi earnestly entreated; the ecclesiastical power did not interfere, they died like Christians and brave men, and were buried like beasts, in a field. The people revered Bassi as a martyr, strewed garlands of flowers over the ground which covered his bones, and honour his memory to this day.

On the 2nd of August, the Cardinal Triumvirs annulled all the laws and regulations which had been in force since the 16th of November, 1848; all the Municipal Councils, and all the public officers nominated after the 16th of November, and instituted a Court of Censorship, *to inquire into the character and conduct of the Government employés in every department.* The next day they guaranteed the full value of the Treasury Bonds issued by the Pontifical Government, but at the same time they reduced, by 35 per cent., the value of those issued by the Provisional Government and the Republic, at which all the citizens complained bitterly,

and still more the public functionaries and the creditors of the State, who had been paid the very day before in paper money, at its nominal value. The Government answered the murmurs and complaints which were universal in the city, and which went so far as to impute bankruptcy to the State and bad faith to the Ministry, by saying in the "*Diario*" that many States had acted in the same manner, and that the Pope merited gratitude and praise, not reprehension and blame, for his moderation in not having exercised the full power which he possessed of annulling and destroying all the paper money of the Republic. The Directors of the Roman Bank were plunged into great anxiety, because the proclamation, issued by the Cardinals, left it doubtful whether the sum which they had advanced, under gentle violence,* to the Republic, would be guaranteed to them, and they knew Cardinal Della Genga was of opinion that the notes of the bank ought to share the fate of the other paper money. Therefore Feoli and the brother of Cardinal Antonelli, who were Directors of the bank, went to Gaeta and succeeded in obtaining a promise that the Cardinals would notify, in the course of a few days, that the notes of the bank would have a compulsory circulation for the whole year, at the nominal value; and thus this paper money, which, nevertheless, had been issued by the Republic, was fully legalised, through the many and close relations which the Directors of the bank had with Cardinal Antonelli, the Director of the Government. The value of the base money was not

* Vol. iii. p. 262.

reduced, but the Cardinals arranged that it should be called in at the end of a month, because, though there was a great want of coin, it could not be permitted that money, stamped with the arms of the Republic, should circulate any longer. The Court of Censorship then provided, that, assisted by the many offshoots which had been sent into the provinces, the character, opinions, and conduct, not only of the functionaries, but also of the pensioners of the Government, and of all the Municipal magistrates and officers, should be investigated, and it introduced into the Central Council two prelates, two assessors of police, two lawyers, and three officers of the Segretaria of State, who were secretly to investigate and pronounce sentence without assigning any reasons, or hearing any justification.

At the same time, another Court of Inquiry was established for crimes committed in times past, against *religion and its ministers, the majesty of the sovereign, public and private safety;* this body, like the Court of Censorship, was composed of men, amongst whom, if there were some who were estimable for their integrity, there were none who had not distinguished themselves by illiberal acts and opinions; added to which, many of them had private offences to revenge, and private ends and advantages to seek. Much time did not elapse before the promises given by the French to the officers and soldiers who had consented to enter into the Pope's service, were annulled; for the Cardinals ordered that all who had entered the army, or who had been promoted since the 16th of November, 1848, should be dismissed and deprived of their rank, and they also subjected the others to an examination

by the Commissioners of Inquisition, or, as they called it, of Revision. At the same time they allowed libels, denunciations, and all kinds of abuse to be circulated against liberals of every class and party, and these things served as materials for inquiry by inquisitors of every kind; they even endeavoured to fix the title of thieves on all republicans, under the pretext of recovering the articles which had been required by the Government of the Republic.

The Cardinals, fearing that those who were pre-eminent amongst the constitutional party might disturb their peace, and endeavour to restrain them in their arbitrary acts, and in their anger, marked them all out as objects for the tyranny of the Court of Censorship and the Police; some they deprived of their offices, others were sent into confinement, others into exile. Terenzio Mamiani, who had made a speech in Parliament against depriving the Pope of his temporal sovereignty, and who had been obliged to retire into private life when the opposite motion was carried, and there to combat the foolish and wicked acts of the dominant party with his voice, his pen, and his example, incurring thereby, hatred, threats, and perilous anger,—Terenzio Mamiani, delicate in health, was in a very short time banished from Rome and from the State, nor did he obtain from the Government, or the French, such attentions as were due to him, distinguished as he was by birth, talents, learning, and by his most estimable character, not even such as were shown to the most fiery republicans and vulgar agitators. On his way from his house to the Diligence

office, or else on his journey from Rome to Cività Vecchia, all his manuscripts and important papers, philosophical writings, essays on politics and general literature, and documents of contemporaneous history, which he had in his portmanteau, were stolen from him, nor could he obtain the restitution of them, notwithstanding all the researches and inquiries which he made, and it was currently believed that the Holy Office had played him this trick. Pantaleone, who had combated the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government, the Republic, and the Revolution, from beginning to end, by word of mouth and with his pen,—Pantaleone, who but a few days previously had almost fallen a victim to assassins—he, too, was sent to the confines. If M. de Courcelles and the French Legation were informed of these unjust acts, they threw the blame of them angrily upon the Cardinals; if they were mentioned to the Generals, they justified and approved them, because they jumbled every one together, and bound all who had the reputation of being Liberals in the same faggot, while they made a nosegay and a garland of every flower and thorn of the clerical Government.

The French Generals, as though their toleration of these persecutions were not sufficient to bring discredit upon their sense and feeling, disgraced the name of France by becoming accomplices in the covetous fanaticism and vulgar hatred entertained against the Jews. In former times, the Jews in Rome had been free, and up to the time of Boniface IV., if not free, they were at any rate permitted to live in peace. That

Pope restricted them to the Ghetto, on the left bank of the Tiber, a damp and confined locality, and deprived them of the right of possessing real property, hampering their commerce and their trade. They increased in numbers with the lapse of centuries, but were still obliged to confine themselves within the same narrow limits, which caused such a crowding together, such filth and defilement of the atmosphere, as generated nothing but disease and fuel for pestilence. On account of being only permitted to carry on petty traffic, they led a poor and wretched life; besides the other taxes, they paid an extra tax to the House of the Catechumens; to the monastic order of the Converted; the taxes of the Stole to the catholic parish priests near the Ghetto; a premium to the Treasury; another to the Camera Apostolica; the expenses of the police under the command of the Cardinal Vicar; the sbirri who tormented them; they even payed for the Carnival spectacles of the Christians. Besides this, they were made to pay out of their own pockets everything which related to the instruction, education, charitable funds, of the police of the Ghetto. The Cardinal Vicar was their civil and criminal judge; their code, the decretals, proclamations, and arbitrary power; they could not go out of their enclosure and leave Rome without a written permission from the Vicariate, never granted for more than a short time, and with the route which they intended to take marked out; they were prohibited from holding intercourse with Catholics, and were bound to obey the bishop, or vicar, or parish priest of every place where they might happen

to be. At one time they were made to run races, like animals, for a prize, at the conclusion of the Carnival, and they bought themselves off only by paying for the horse races; every Sabbath they were chased with a horsewhip to hear a Catholic sermon in the Oratory of the Confraternity of the Trinity; the Ghetto was closed an hour after sunset, woe to whoever dared to venture out of it—only those who had money could purchase a few hours of liberty from the sbirri. Pius IX. had mitigated these hardships, and had thereby gained gratitude from the Jews, and praise from the Christians; but a few fanatics, and many of the lowest grade of sbirri, who were accustomed to speculate on the tribulation and misery of these unhappy beings, raised a tumult in the October of 1848. Rossi punished them, and they treasured up the affront, for when the Clerical Government and the Vicariate were restored, they revenged themselves on the Jews, by giving it out that there were treasures concealed in the Ghetto; and in consequence of this, from 4000 to 5000 citizens, for that was the number of Jews in Rome, were given up to the police. The French besieged the Ghetto on the night of the 24th of October, and at dawn on the following day they began the search, which lasted three days: all the houses were ransacked; no one could go out, no one enter; the sick were left without physicians, lying-in women without aid, the poor without bread; the police did not find any stolen goods, but they carried off money and utensils of silver; they did not find any thieves, but they arrested some honest men. Vain were the urgent

appeals made during those three days by some respectable Jews, who resided outside the Ghetto, or who had been out of it when the siege began, and who did all in their power to obtain justice and mercy; vain also were the exertions made by M. de Courcelles, until murmurs began to rise high in the city, and even amongst the French officers; at last, owing to the urgent appeals of M. de Courcelles, and the complaints made by some wealthy Hebrews who had arrived in Rome at the crisis, the raid and the siege were stopped. The oppressed demanded justice and a trial, but they never obtained it, and I believe that they did not all recover even their money and their property.

This was the way in which the Cardinal Triumvirs performed the promise they had made M. de Rayneval, before they left Gaeta, *to cast, as far as was possible, a veil over the past, and to govern with moderation;* and thus General Oudinot followed the advice given him by M. de Rayneval, who had written to him to say that, "*although the Holy Father and his Commissioners had full power, yet he ought, at all costs, to prevent political persecution and especially incarcerations.*" It is reported, on good authority, that Cardinal Antonelli heard with complacency that the Triumvirs were committing these excesses, for in sending his rivals, Della Genga and Vannicelli, to Rome, it had been his object that the odium of the first and most violent measures should fall upon them, and sink them completely in public opinion. The French Ambassadors bore these excesses with impatience, but as it was their first and greatest wish

not to disgust the Pope, and thereby delay his return to Rome, they abstained from open remonstrance, and from any vigorous measures in opposition to them. And as the Pope did not make up his mind to return, they arranged that General Oudinot, who was greatly in his favour, should go to Gaeta and solicit him. This commission he performed with much zeal, and after he had urged his petition on Pius IX. he wrote the following note to Cardinal Antonelli:—

"The return of His Holiness is the question that over rides and embraces every other. The moral and material calamities which afflict the Pontifical States are great, and require remedies equally speedy and vigorous. The distance that separates Rome from Gaeta is, in itself alone, an obstacle which restrains and weakens the hands of Government.

"The presence of the Holy Father in the midst of his subjects would be a splendid proof of reconciliation and oblivion of the past.

"When the Sovereign Pontiff shall be pleased to take upon himself the office of personally remedying these difficulties, they will become less complicated and less serious; business will be better studied, and decisions arrived at more speedily and regularly. It cannot be denied, that at present the different departments of the Administration are wanting in uniformity and unity, whence disagreements and inevitable inconsistencies arise. Everything which retards the return of the Holy Father to Rome cannot but increase the uncertainty of France, whilst the continued duration of public calamities will encourage the factions, and furnish them with new arms against the temporal authority of the Holy Father. It will be said that the Pontifical Government has had its day; that it has no faith in its future; that even with the assistance of the Catholic Powers, it admits itself to be unable to fulfil the task of its own restoration. Perhaps calumny will even endeavour to insinuate that His Holiness fears imaginary perils; and does not enter-

tain that reciprocal affection for his subjects which is an equal source of happiness to the Sovereign and his people.

"Whatever may happen, the French army will always and everywhere perform its duty; it will remain faithful to its accustomed habits of discipline and fidelity; but if its soldiers have nothing else to do than to suppress intestine broils—if the solicitude of the Holy Father proceeds at a slow and tardy pace—public opinion in France will become hostile to the Italian expedition.

"What will the French Government do then? I cannot tell. But it is very certain, and it is my duty to state it, that, in any case, the return of the Holy Father is imperiously demanded by the public good. There is no danger, in my opinion, in such a course, whilst, on the other hand, all delay will be fatal.

"Animated by this conviction, the General-in-Chief respectfully urges His Holiness to deign to honour, as speedily as possible, the City of Rome with his presence, so ardently and justly desired."

The Pope replied, as he had already done to Messrs. de Rayneval and de Courcelles, that, on account of the spiritual nature of his dominion, he could not make special and definitive promises, so long as he had not made up his mind about certain eventualities, and above all, as long as he was required to make promises to a great Power, *which made its own plans and requirements known to all.* It might seem, in such a case, as though he had yielded to force; his actions would not be believed to be spontaneous. Now, he did not wish to be brought into such a position; his intentions were well known; he had given his people proofs of an affection which he had manifested by sacrifices; ingratitude and exile had not changed his heart; he constantly addressed to the Almighty one sole prayer, and in this prayer he

entreated the triumph of religion and the peace of all nations, specially of that people whom Providence had placed beneath his care. Notwithstanding, he would endeavour to gratify France, and would return to his States in the course of a few days; he would reside for some time at Castel Gondolfo, in the midst of the French army.

The General, satisfied with this reply, returned to Rome, persuaded that the Pope would shortly be in the midst of the French army, and he sent the announcement of these glad tidings to Paris. But the report of the mal-government of the Cardinals, and the contumacy of the Court, had already reached Paris, and occasioned great regret to the President of the Republic, and those Ministers who had promised themselves the gratitude and obedience of the clergy, if not the satisfaction of the people, by the taking of Rome. They believed that the Assembly, though it might be inclined to acts of repression, and was greatly averse to liberal reforms, would nevertheless be agitated by contrary feelings, as soon as it had to debate on the expenses of the Roman expedition, and would not be inclined to accommodate itself to those measures which the Catholic party approved. With what face could Barrot justify the restoration of those *abuses* which he had condemned in Parliament? In what way would he make it appear that the expedition had produced the fruits of liberty? How would he be able to maintain the promise he had solemnly given, not to use power, so long as he possessed a grain of it, to the injury of free institutions?

Bonaparte could not bear the idea that the dignity of France should be trampled beneath the feet of the Roman Court, and his name calumniated; he laid, and justly, the blame of many of the evils on General Oudinot, and desired that the command should be taken from him; nor would he adopt the views and measures of the Ministry, but, as he wished above all things that his own name should be prominent, in order to the advancement of the designs which he was pertinaciously pursuing, he sent Edouard Ney, a confidential officer, to Rome with the following letter, which he was to show to General Rostolan, the officer selected to supersede the Duke de Reggio:—

"Paris, 18th August, 1849.

"My dear Edouard,

"The Republic of France did not send an army to Rome to trample on Italian liberty, but, on the contrary, to regulate it, to preserve it from its own excesses, and to give it a solid basis, by restoring to his throne the Prince who had put himself so boldly at the head of all useful reforms.

"It grieves me to hear that the benevolent intentions of the Holy Father, and our endeavours, have been frustrated by hostile passions and influences. It is evidently desired to base the return of the Pope on proscription and tyranny. Now, you will say to General Rostolan from me, that he must not permit any act contrary to the nature of our intervention to be committed under the shadow of the tricoloured flag.

"It is thus I epitomise the temporal Government of the Pope; *a general armistice; the secularisation of the Administration; the Code of Napoleon, and a liberal Government.*

"When I read the Manifesto of the three Cardinals, I considered it a personal affront, that they did not even mention the name of France, or the sufferings of our brave soldiers. Any

insult shown to our flag or our uniform goes straight to my heart; and I beg you to make it known, that though France does not sell her services, she at least requires that gratitude should be shown for her sacrifices and self-abnegation. When our armies made the circuit of Europe they left everywhere, as traces of their passage, the destruction of feudal abuses, and the germs of liberty. It shall never be said that, in 1849, a French army acted in an opposite manner, and produced contrary results. Request the General to offer thanks in my name to the whole army for its noble conduct. I have learnt with regret, that it it is not treated, even physically, as it deserves. No means must be neglected by which to provide for the comforts of our troops. Receive, my dear Edouard, the assurance of my sincere friendship.

"Louis Napoleon Bonaparte."

As soon as Ney arrived in Rome, he went to General Rostolan, executed his commission, and insisted that the letter of the President of the Republic should be printed and circulated in the City, and amongst the army. But the General, who was more yielding even than Oudinot to the desires of the clergy, complained that such an office should have been entrusted to him, and said that the French Government was running *great risks*, by pursuing a course different from that which had been followed up to the present day, by the Duke de Reggio, and the Ambassadors, *with great honour to France*. When the messenger of the President required that his orders should be executed without wasting time and talk in discussing them, the General replied that he must take time to consider; that the President's letter was not countersigned by the Ministers; that he did not conceive himself bound to obey the President. The day after the Duke de Reggio

expostulated with Ney, complained of the ingratitude to which he had been subjected, and said that *instead of the generous policy, worthy of the French nation, which he had followed, it was intended to substitute a rash, menacing, and oppressive policy.* Ney went back to Rostolan, and, in the name of military discipline, urged him anew to publish the document, but the General repeated that it was a private letter, which had neither the form nor the value of an order; that he was persuaded it would not only spoil all negotiations, but that it would produce most serious mischief; that he would neither publish it nor allow it to be published. It was of no avail for Ney to accuse him of flagrant disobedience, and render him responsible for the consequences which his contumacy might produce in Rome and Paris; the General remained firm to his opinion, and wrote to the Minister of War, explaining the reasons which had induced him to disregard the document.

CHAPTER III.

THE CARDINAL TRIUMVIRS.—SUSPENSE.—REPORTS.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM BARROT TO ROSTOLAN.—ANSWER FROM ROSTOLAN RESPECTING THE LETTER TO NEY.—HONOURS SHOWN IN THE CAPITOL TO GENERAL OUDINOT.—HIS SPEECHES.—BANQUET.—OTHER HONOURS.—JOURNEY OF OUDINOT TO GAETA.—HIS PROCEEDINGS.—DECLARATION MADE BY THE POPE.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS.—DIFFERENT OPINIONS OF THE FRENCH MINISTRY. ADVICE OF M. FALLOUX.—THE POPE GOES TO PORTICI.—MANIFESTO OF THE POPE TO THE PEOPLE.—FRENCH COMMISSIONERS AND EMISSARIES IN THE ROMAN STATES.—THEIR INCONSISTENT PROCEEDINGS.—DIFFERENT OPINIONS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THE MOTU PROPRIO OF PORTICI.—VOTE OF THE ASSEMBLY.—REMARKS ON THE MOTU PROPRIO.—MANIFESTO OF THE CARDINAL TRIUMVIRS.—REMARKS.—EFFECTS OF THE SO-CALLED AMNESTY.—REMARKS ON CERTAIN CASUISTS.—ACTS AND EXERTIONS OF THE CARDINALS.—VANNICELLI.—THE PUNISHMENT OF THE CAVALETTO.—ORSINI, MINISTER OF WAR.—DISCONTENT PRODUCED BY THE MOTU PROPRIO.—CARDINAL ANTONELLI.

THE Cardinals, who had got scent of Ney's commission, had been alarmed by it at first, but were reassured when they had heard General Rostolan give vent to expressions calculated to convince them of his intentions not to obey the President of the Republic, of whom he spoke by no means respectfully. But, in the meantime, Ney having communicated the letter to the Romans, and having caused it to be published in a Florence newspaper, the city was excited, and waited in expectation of something new. Reports were spread

about that the Triumvirs were making preparations for their departure; some said that the French wished to restore the Statute; others, that authority would be given to the Municipal body to carry out the wishes of the President of the Republic; but as days passed on without anything fresh occurring, the hopes of the one party began to vanish by degrees, as well as the fears of the other, for the clergy had become greatly alarmed. And although news arrived afterwards that Barrot had written to Rostolan, to desire him to publish Bonaparte's letter, every one was of opinion that the Minister only intended thereby to make a show of submission to the President, but not to support his policy by his authority, for if it had been otherwise he would have given the office of executing it to some one else than the General who had disregarded it. Rostolan was, in fact, maintained in command, though he did not change his course of action, and had written to Barrot that he was ready to resign the command of the army rather than have anything to do with an *act against which his conscience rebelled, as against an injustice which might set Europe on fire.*

A few days before the French Government took away the command of the army from General Oudinot, the Municipal body, which he himself had instituted, passed a resolution to confer upon him the rank of a citizen of Rome, and to strike a medal in his honour, and they arranged that the resolution should be inscribed on marble over his bust in a chamber of the Capitol. So, on the 23rd of August he went to the Capitol, when the Muse of Prince Odelscalchi did not blush to sing of him

as a rival of the deeds of the Scipios, of Marcus Aurelius, of Alexander the Great, of Alcibiades and Pompey, whose busts ornamented the hall. To this address the General replied that, *through the inscription of his name in the Capitol by the side of names which were immortal*, he was certain they meant to honour France, the army, and their enterprise, and not himself, therefore he would accept the honour as a citizen of Rome; he would consider himself a *French-Roman*, and he would deem it a glory to devote himself to the service of his second country. The festival concluded with a splendid banquet, and the banquet with mirthful toasts; thus triumphs are celebrated now-a-days in the Capitol, amidst the indignant shades of the ancient Romans! The conqueror had other honours bestowed upon him; a sword was presented to him, bearing this inscription, "To General Oudinot, Duke de Reggio, the Friends of Order in Rome, Anno MDCCCXLIX." The Catholic party in Lyons presented him with another sword; Nicholas, the Emperor of Russia, wrote him a congratulatory letter; the Pope created in his honour a superior rank in the order of knighthood of Pius IX.

Before returning to France he went to Gaeta, to pay his respects to the Pontiff and the Court, who were suffering great anxiety, and he endeavoured to employ such terms as were best calculated to convince them that the President's letter would not produce the bad results which they feared, promising to do everything they wished on his return to Paris. But Pius IX., who had intimated to him a little while

before that he would proceed immediately to Castel Gondolfo, declared that, after that ill-omened epistle, he could not think of putting himself into the power of the French soldiers, and had decided on going to Portici. The French Ambassadors were greatly annoyed when they heard this, and endeavoured, by all the means in their power, to conciliate the Court of Gaeta; they guaranteed that the Parisian Government would not act as harshly as the President's letter implied; at the same time they wrote to Paris, and recommended measures which were best calculated, in their opinion, to prevent the Pope from being entirely alienated from France, and the Court from dragging him into the midst of the Austrians, of whom it was enamoured.

The Parisian Ministry had not only to moderate the anger and check the desires of Bonaparte, who, having publicly declared his own intentions, demanded the satisfaction which was due to his rank, but was also obliged to steer such a course as was most likely to soothe the Assembly. Barrot, who had made so many promises, and such public boasting of his liberal intentions, could not honourably exhort it to accommodate itself with a good grace to Gaetan liberality. Even Falloux himself was of opinion that the irritation of the Assembly would not be softened unless the Pope would accommodate himself to the measures which the position of the French Government required. Therefore, whilst his colleagues wrote to Messrs. de Rayneval and de Courcelles, complaining of the obstinacy and ingratitude of the Court, and of the persevering silence of the Pope, he, even he, Falloux, wrote

letters of condolence and regret to Gaeta and to his brother in Rome, a prelate who, having turned or returned to liberal opinions, showed them about and published some passages out of them, containing complaints of the Cardinal Triumvirs.

The Pope, filled with these thoughts and angry feelings, left Gaeta on the 4th of September, and went to Portici, on board a Neapolitan ship, in company with the King of Naples, who not only showed him all the attention due to him as a guest, but was continually giving him proofs of the most humble devotion. By removing himself thus from the States of Rome, Pius IX. intended to make the French Government understand that he would not enter them again until he had received guarantees of full power and sovereign dominion independent of the army, and, above all, of the President, who in such haughty terms had magnified the benefits and stated the conditions of the French protection. But the Court being also conscious, through its knowledge of French character, and from the counsel given by its Parisian advisers, that it was necessary to use the circumspection on which it prides itself, was of opinion that it was not prudent to delay any longer the publication of the Manifesto required by France on the government of the State, and intimated that the Pope would return to Rome if the French Government, condemning the President's letter to oblivion, would show itself satisfied with the measures which Pius IX. had spontaneously proposed. Accordingly, on the 12th of the month the following *motu proprio* was published:—

"PIUS, P. P. IX. TO HIS DEARLY BELOVED SUBJECTS.

"Scarcely had you been liberated from the tyranny which oppressed you in a thousand ways, by the valorous arms of the Catholic Powers, which, with real filial devotion, co-operated in the re-establishment of Our complete liberty and independence in the Government of the temporal dominions of the Holy See, than We not only raised hymns of thanksgiving to the Lord, but were anxious to send a Governing Commission to Rome, in the persons of three estimable Cardinals, that it might reassume the reins of the civil Government in Our name, and, aided by a Ministry, might, so far as circumstances would permit, take such steps as were required at the moment by the necessity for order, safety, and public tranquillity.

"We are occupying Ourself with no less solicitude to settle the bases of institutions which, while they will secure to you, most dearly beloved Subjects, all proper advantages, will also secure Our independence, which We are under the obligation to preserve intact in the face of the universe. Therefore, in order to console the good, who so greatly merit Our special kindness and consideration, and to undeceive the wicked, who took advantage of Our former concessions to overthrow social order; and in order to prove to all that We have nothing at heart but your real and solid prosperity, We have resolved, of Our spontaneous impulse, of Our own knowledge, and in the complete exercise of Our own authority, to enact as follows:—

"Art. I. A Council of State is established in Rome. This Council will give its opinion on all projects of law, prior to their being submitted to the sanction of the Sovereign; it will examine all the most important questions connected with every branch of the Public Administration upon which its opinion will be requested by Us, and by Our Ministers.

"A special law will determine the number and qualifications of the Councillors, their duties, prerogatives, the regulations respecting their discussions, and whatever else may concern the proper conduct of so distinguished an assembly.

"Art. II. A Council of State for Finance is instituted. It

will be occupied with the estimates, and will examine the expenditure; it will audit the accounts of these several departments, and will give its opinion on the imposition of new taxes, or on the diminution of those already existing; on the best mode of effecting their distribution; on the most effective means of extending trade; and, generally, upon all that relates to the interests of the Public Treasury.

"The Councillors will be selected by Us from lists which will be presented to Us by the Provincial Councils. Their number will be fixed in proportion to the Provinces of the State. This number may be increased by a certain addition of individuals, whom We reserve to Ourself the right to nominate.

"A special law will determine the forms to be observed in the lists of those proposed for Councillors, their qualifications, the regulations for the conduct of business, and everything else which may effectually and promptly contribute to the rearrangement of this most important branch of the Public Administration.

"Art. III. The institution of Provincial Councils is confirmed. The Councillors will be selected by Us, out of lists of names proposed by the Communal Councils.

"These Councils will be occupied with the local interests of the Province; the expenses to be incurred on its account, and with its concurrence; the revenue and expenditure of the internal Administration which will be selected by each Provincial Council on its own responsibility.

"Certain Members of the Provincial Councils shall be selected beforehand to form part of the Council of the President of the Province, to aid him in the exercise of the vigilance which he will have to exercise over the Municipalities. A special law will determine the mode of drawing up the lists, the qualifications, and number of Councillors for each Province, and, the relations being laid down which are to be preserved between the Provincial Administrations and the great interests of the State, it will confirm those relations, and will indicate in what way, and how far, the superior authority extends over them.

Art. IV. The Municipal Representations and Administrations will be regulated by the most ample franchises which are compatible with the local interests of the Communes.

"The Elections of Councillors will have for their basis an extensive number of electors, regard being had principally to a property qualification....

"Those eligible, besides the qualifications intrinsically necessary, must have a property qualification determined by law.

"The Heads of the Magistracy will be selected by Us, and the Aldermen by the Presidents of the Provinces, out of lists prepared by the Communal Councils.

"A special law will determine the qualification and number of the Communal Councillors, the number of those composing the Magistracy, and will settle the conduct of the Administration, co-ordinating it with the interests of the Provinces.

"Art. V. The reforms and improvements will also extend to the Judicial department, and to the Legislation, civil, criminal, and administrative. A Commission, to be nominated, will occupy itself with the necessary details.

"Art. VI. Finally, Our paternal heart inclining Us always to indulgence and mercy, We desire at this time, also, to perform an act of clemency towards those erring individuals who were led into felony and revolt by the seduction, hesitation, and perhaps, also, by the inactivity of others. Bearing in mind, moreover, what is required by justice, which is the foundation of kingdoms; by the rights of others, which have been attacked or injured; by the duty which is incumbent on Us of protecting you from a renewal of those evils to which you have been subjected; and by the obligation of securing you from the pernicious influence of the corrupters of all morality, and the enemies of the Catholic religion which—a perennial fountain of all good, and social prosperity—distinguished you, and formed your glory, as an elect family, favoured by God with His special gifts; We have ordained that an Amnesty shall be published which shall free from the penalties they have incurred, all persons who are not excluded from that benefit by certain limitations which will be laid down.

"These are the arrangements which We have believed Ourself constrained, for your good, to make known in the sight of God; and which, whilst they are compatible with Our position, will produce, We are convinced, when faithfully carried out, the good results that form the honest desires of the wise. The right feeling of each one amongst you, who longs so much the more for happiness in proportion to the sufferings which he has endured, offers Us herein an ample guarantee. But, above all, We put Our trust in God, who, in the midst of His righteous anger, remembers mercy.

"Datum Neapoli in Suburbano Portici, die duodecima Septembris, MDCCCXLIX. Pontificatus Nostri, Anno IV.

"Pius, P.P. IX."

The Ambassadors, the Commissioners, and the Emissaries whom the French Government had sent into Italy many months previously, had busied themselves with Roman affairs with the sole object of extricating France from the embarrassment into which she had been plunged by the clumsily designed and ill-executed attack upon Rome, and into which she had been drawn by the association that styled itself the party of order, and which was constituted of the three monarchical parties—Bourbon, Orleanist, and Neapolitan, and of the Catholic party. All these parties placed great reliance on the influence of the clergy, and vied with each other who should appear most devoted and friendly to the Pope, for though they envied and watched each other by turns, they were always agreed as to the policy of flattering the Power to which each party looked for assistance in carrying out its individual projects; the result of which was, that the Catholic party prevailed over the others, and this was the real

secret of all the negotiations of the French Emissaries and Commissioners in the Roman State. During the Republic they had lauded the Pope's Statute and courted the Constitutionalists, because they had fancied the Pope would maintain the Statute; afterwards, when they were certain he would not restore it, they began to laud the consultative form of government, the municipal franchises, and such-like panaceas, whilst they caressed the clergy, and looked grimly on all those who demanded the Statute. At last they began to hint that the people did not wish for the Constitution, that no one was asking for it; they ignored the fact that the citizens could not give expression to their wishes by the press, or by petition, or in any other manner, and that it had fared ill with the people of Bologna, who had been the first to give utterance to those wishes, which, but for the tyranny exercised by the foreigner, every one would have expressed. Then they went about harping on the usual string, that the Italians are not ripe for liberty; that their sky and their climate, and I do not know what other natural privileges, are against them, and so on through all the metaphysics of those doctors who speculate on Italian politics by means of the thermometer, the compass, and the almanack. It was French Emissaries who chattered about Italian immaturity, that is, the Emissaries of that nation, which, if temperament and good sense were the sole criterion of maturity, and the errors and crimes of a people were any proof against the rights of liberty, would be abandoned by liberty for ever.

Now, as soon as those Emissaries had read the *Motu proprio* of Portici, they began to praise it up to the skies, as a most liberal and wisely-designed production; they wrote word to France that it ought to be received with joy and gratitude as a triumph gained by French influence, and as a means of permanently settling the Roman State, and bringing the Pope into concord and amity with the French Government. The Catholic party naturally embraced this advice; the Monarchical parties, who wished to keep friends with the Pope at any cost whatever, were obliged to pretend to be pleased with it, even though they might hold a contrary opinion. The President of the Republic alone was not satisfied, because the terms of the *Motu proprio* differed too widely from those of his letter; he therefore desired that the Ministry should form its plans on his letter and not on the *Motu proprio*, and that it should signify to the Assembly the intention of the Government. The Ministry was uncertain how to act, being drawn on the one side by Barrot, who, holding in remembrance his liberal promises, inclined to the opinion of the President, and being biassed on the other hand by Falloux, who, as the spokesman of the Catholic party, wished that a vote should be passed in favour of the *Motu proprio*. In Parliament the Napoleonic party was few in number and authority, but the Republicans naturally seized the occasion to connect themselves with those who seemed to be least inclined to acquiesce in the wishes of the clerical court, and did all in their power to weaken the alliance that subsisted between the Monarchical

parties by creating discord between them and the Head of the State. But the Bourbonists and Orleanists, to the furtherance of whose designs it was not necessary that the authority of the Head of the State should be strengthened, joined with Falloux and with the Catholic party in approving the *Motu proprio*, and disregarding the letter to Ney, making a pretence of interpreting the two documents in the same manner. A debate then took place in Parliament, in which Barrot played the part of a puppet of Montalembert rather than of a Minister of Bonaparte, and the *Motu proprio* of Portici was consequently honoured by the votes of the Assembly.

Eighteen years had elapsed since the famous memorandum of 1831; and the Roman Court, after eighteen years' interval, after many revolts, a revolution, and a calamitous war, had hardly yielded so far as even to make a semblance of taking warning from the past and altering its course of action. It promised, as in 1831, municipal reforms; it promised reforms in the civil and criminal administrations; but it did not enunciate the principles on which those reforms were to be based; it promised an amnesty, but it did not explain who and how many individuals it considered worthy of pardon; it added to the promises of 1831 those of a Council of State and a Council of Finance, but it did not give any guarantee to the laity of civil equality, or to the people of civil government. Yet the Government of the French Republic boasted that it had checked the resistance which had been made by the clergy, and had procured for the people of the Roman State all the

liberty which they were capable of enjoying. Poor people! They had been tormented by the frenzy of a faction inspired by ultra French views; and extravagant French hypocrisies had bandied them backwards and forwards between Mazzinian experiments and clerical obstinacies.

On the 18th of September the Cardinal Triumvirs announced that his Holiness had granted a pardon to all political offenders, excepting, however, *the members of the Provisional Government, the members of the Triumvirate and of the Republican Government, the chiefs of military bodies, and all those who, after they had tasted the benefit of the armistice which had been previously awarded by his Holiness, had failed in their parole and participated in the recent disturbances in the States of the Holy See; those who, besides political crimes, had been guilty of ordinary crimes contemplated by the existing penal laws.* The terms of this decree, and the character of the persons to whom the business of interpreting them was committed, were of a nature to turn the pretence of a pardon into the reality of a proscription, without justice and without mercy. Penalties decreed by classes never can be just, because they are founded on collective, not on individual responsibility; they have regard to the office, not to the citizen; and as they never weigh degrees of criminality, they resemble a revenge rather than a judgment and a sentence. By punishing alike, all who had taken part in the Provisional Government, in the Constitutional Assembly, and in the Republican Government, the Pontifical Government weighed those who had planned and completed the

revolution in the same scale with those who had accepted power under the intention of curbing and controlling it; those Deputies who had voted to depose the Pope, with those who had given an opposite vote; those who had combated vain and wicked designs, with those who had excited them; those who had pushed on, with those who had held back; those who had done evil, with those who had exerted themselves to mitigate, if they could not prevent it. On the other hand, the dubious and obscure words of some of the articles left an opening for all kinds of senseless and cruel interpretations; thus for example, not only Generals, but any one who had commanded a body of troops detached from the army might be included under the denomination of *chiefs of military bodies*, at the pleasure of the Inquisitors; and in the category of those who, having profited by the amnesty of 1846, had participated in the *disturbances in the States of the Holy See*, every one might be included who had shared in them in any way whatever. Moreover, all these individuals incurred the same kinds of penalties, because the French not permitting imprisonments, and the clergy perhaps not desiring that they should, for the scandal and expense would have been too great, the result was, that many thousand citizens of every class, of every shade of opinion, and of all ages, were proscribed without inquiry, and without even summary judgment, through the obscure language of the articles, and the character of the Inquisitors; thus not only criminals and accomplices, the guilty and the innocent, the bad and the good, but many even of those who

deserved well of their Prince and their country, shared the same fate. If the penalties which the Court of Censorship or its public officers inflicted in the same eager spirit of envy and cupidity, be added to the proscription, it will be easy to imagine the sum total of the punished and oppressed. But very few were exempt of those who had benefited by the amnesty of 1846; many, in fact, had taken part in the revolution, but others were punished in an equal degree, only because they had accepted some office or had entered into the army; such a one, because he had been sent out of Italy as an ambassador by the Republic; another, because he had executed the orders of the Government whilst administering the affairs of a province. By degrees it was construed into a crime, and punished with the loss of rank and office to have fought in the War of Independence beyond the Po; to have taken part in the meetings permitted or tolerated by the Pontifical Government itself; to have abused the liberty of the Press, when by law it was free. And this was the Amnesty.

Certain casuists, I will not call them moralists, intent on justifying those princes and potentates, who, never recollecting the promises they had made, the injury they were causing by breaking them, or the perilous example they were setting their people, had taken back the franchises they had sworn to bestow, or with solemn words (which at the bar of an honest conscience means the same thing) had sanctioned—certain casuists, I say, have invented a new rule of conscience, which they call *moral compulsion*, and pamphlets and journals

are full of arguments, in which, by virtue of this rule, they not only absolve the perjured great, lying potentates, and illustrious hypocrites, but even bless and sanctify their acts without exception, and condemn the people without mercy. Nor do they impute this *moral compulsion* of princes to the flagrant excesses of the people alone, to violence, menaces, and tumults, but also to petitions, to festivals, to applause; to the examples set by other princes, other nations; to the universal movements throughout Europe; nay, they would even say, to Providence itself. Meantime, they unmercifully condemn to the galleys many humble citizens, on whose minds not only those compulsions which influence the minds of princes, but the example also of the princes themselves must have had an influence to impel them to innovations. And yet the powerful might have resisted with armies, and ought to have faced any evil rather than act contrary to their consciences; and private individuals rested with confidence on the example of their princes, on the sanctity of an oath, or on a promise made with all the appearances of spontaneity! And yet when the Prince had departed from Rome, and abandoned the State to the mercy of faction and of chance, and when the people required to be governed, and the citizens to be ruled with the least possible evil, it was incumbent on all those who were not restrained by peculiar obligations, to exert themselves to temper the evil if not to advance good! And yet these cardinals and prelates, clergy and princes, nobles and courtiers, who, besides foreigners, called the casuists to their aid, that

they might vent their rage against the great mass of the citizens, had not only sung the praises of liberty, blessed Italy, received the applause of the people, and assisted in intoxicating them, but had been the first to let them loose, and if they had examined into the depths of their consciences, might have recognised in themselves the promoters, authors, and abettors of all this confusion! But, alas! it is only too well known, that no rule of justice or morality governs the factions which triumph, and the restoration of the Pope having taken place with the violence which I have described, and republican resistance having offended the Pope and the Cardinals, the clergy and their followers of every class, the vengeance which had been nourished in exile, amidst suspicion and fear, took up its seat in Rome, and the government of the Restoration was as blind as had been that of the Revolution.

Cardinal Vannicelli, who, in the Triumvirate, presided over the Police department, because he had once been Governor of Rome, did not find sufficient employment for his talents in seeking out fresh offences against the State, religion and its ministers, public and private security, but dived with peculiar pleasure and diligence into the archives, and into his own heart, which was of itself an archive of suspicion, and fished up thence all the notes and memoranda which appertained to the Gregorian reign, that by their aid he might oppress, in some way or other, all those who had been absolved by the amnesty of 1846, or those suspected persons who could not be dragged into the category of proscription. Whilst the Triumvirs worked so hard at these labours,

they did not forget to reimpose all the old taxes and imposts, the farming of the duties, and the so-called protective tariffs; the tolls at the barriers, the fines, the regulations, and all the vexatious and severe police arrangements,—in short, all the vices of the old Administration, and with them all the old administrators. Monsignor Savelli also restored the punishment of the *cavaletto*, that is, of the stick, in prisons, and the French soldiers, who had already given him their aid in besieging the Ghetto, were present in arms at the first example which was given at Cività Vecchia. The Cardinals, who were very mistrustful, perhaps with good reason, of the troops which still remained under their banners, took away the command of them from the French generals, and gave the Ministry of War to Prince Orsini, who was entirely ignorant of military science, and of military administration. He was a proud and ambitious man, who had not been ashamed, a year before, to seek popular honours and favours by means of one of his intimate friends, who was diligent in his attendance on liberal meetings, and courted the Liberal ministry. All the few residuary troops were discharged by these means, and by this individual, and even the corps of the Carabineers, which was the only one that was respectable in point of discipline, was also disbanded. But the *Motu proprio* of Portici, and the manifesto on the Amnesty, which were lauded in France, were torn to pieces in Rome, daubed with mud, and received with loud menaces and imprecations. The Mazzinians alone turned them to account, for it was to their advantage that the people should not

be favoured with a civil and humane government; even the Puritans of the clerical party complained also, because they could not bear these shadows of Consultative colleges, which impaired the pure supremacy of the old Congregations. Compared with these Puritans, of whom, in the College of Cardinals, the two Triumvirs, Della Genga and Vannicelli, were the representatives, Cardinal Antonelli, though, on other accounts he was hated and envied, cut the figure of a dangerous Liberal; therefore the French Ambassadors, fearful of greater excesses, associated themselves with him, and spoke in his praise; and he succeeded in gaining for himself, to an astonishing degree, a reputation amongst foreigners, whilst he gave to the people a taste of the government and the temper of the Cardinals, his rivals.

CHAPTER IV.

EVENTS IN EUROPE.—REMARKS ON THE DEFENCE MAINTAINED BY VENICE.—REMARKS ON HUNGARY.—FALL OF VENICE.—NAPLES.—TUSCANY. — THE DUCHIES. — PIEDMONT. — GERMANY. — RUSSIA. — FRANCE.—BELGIUM.—ENGLAND.—PROJECTS OF THE NEW FRENCH MINISTRY.—LANGUAGE OF THE POPE.—GENERAL BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS SUPERSEDES ROSTOLAN.—ACTS OF THE CARDINAL GOVERNMENT.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERS.—OF THE SPANISH. —AND OF THE AUSTRIANS.—BRIGANDS IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES. — COUP D'ETAT OF MAZZINI. — HIS DESIGNS. — CONSEQUENCES.—REMARKS ON THE CONDITION OF THE PONTIFICAL STATE AT THE BEGINNING OF 1850.

THE rulers of Rome were encouraged in their harsh deeds and illiberal desires by the events which succeeded one another in Europe, with the same rapidity which had distinguished the revolution, that, eighteen months previously, had occasioned such astonishment and fear. Venice, after she had vainly entreated France and England for aid,—Venice, forsaken by all, had courageously persisted in her resistance. Haynau having, in vain, endeavoured during the month of April, to shake the resolution of the authorities, the Austrians besieged the fort of Marghera and attacked it on the 4th of May with many guns and a large body of infantry. There were men in Marghera, from all parts of Italy, who fought with signal bravery under the command of Ulloa, a Neapolitan; the assault was for-

midable, the damage serious, the deaths cruel, the wounded many, and the explosions horrible. The following day Radetzky sent a summons to Venice, demanding *absolute, full and entire submission, and surrender of arms;* he promised *to allow whoever wished it, liberty to depart within forty-eight hours; and to pardon all subalterns and privates;* and he gave time to consider his proposals until eight o'clock the next morning.

Manin answered that the Assembly had given him orders to resist; to resist was therefore his duty; besides, he had requested the good offices of France and England. To which Radetzky replied, that the Emperor would not accept foreign intervention on behalf of rebellious subjects; that Venice must pay the penalty of her obstinacy. At this very time answers were received from France and England; they replied, that the treaties of 1815 must be maintained; that all aid was impossible; the Venetians must surrender, and come to terms with Austria. But this advice was as ineffectual as the Austrian menaces, for Venice was determined to prove, by self-sacrifice, her hatred to foreign rule. Marghera stood out for a month against a formidable siege, and even then was not subdued, but abandoned, because the Venetian generals were of opinion that it was necessary to withdraw the troops within the lines of the natural defence of the city. 150 Italians were killed in Marghera, 250 were wounded. The imperial forces, in killed, wounded and sick, lost a much larger number; the Vienna Gazette, when it narrated the particulars of the defence, confessed that *it admired the enemy who had maintained*

it without surrendering earlier. The Austrians entered the fort, but their pride in the acquisition of it was disturbed by the explosion of a mine, which caused great destruction; having recovered from this sinister accident, they attempted in vain the assault of the city, by the bridge of the Lagune. The Venetians were animated to resist, not only by their desire to fulfil a duty towards Italy, but also by the hope that Austria would be worsted in the Hungarian insurrection, of which, I think, it will be well for me to mention succinctly the causes and the consequences.

Ferdinand I., of the House of Hapsburg, ascended the throne of Hungary, by the free election of the people, in the year 1526; and his successors, Maximilian I., Rodolph II., Ferdinand II., III., IV., were also elected by the nation. In 1687 the Diet of Hungary decreed that the succession to the Crown should be hereditary in the House of Hapsburg; and in the year 1723, it extended the right of succession to the female line. But the law of 1723, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, maintained and confirmed all the rights and all the constitutional guarantees of Hungary, and its complete independence of the other hereditary States of the House of Austria. When the Emperors of Austria assumed the Crown of Hungary, they swore fidelity to the nation, they swore to maintain all its liberties, immunities, rights, franchises, possessions, and usages, and to defend its independence. From Ferdinand I. up to the present day the oath has always been the same, with the exception of an article which anciently conferred upon the Hungarians the

right of resisting the Prince by force of arms if he should violate the Constitution. From 1662 up to the present day no king was crowned until he had first signed a deed, called by them a *diploma*, in which he promised to observe all the articles stipulated by the nation, which articles asserted that the National Diet alone had the right of making laws; that none but Hungarians could govern the State or command the army; that all citizens must be tried within the limits of the kingdom by national tribunals; that the King must maintain the integrity of the territory intact; that he must not permit foreign powers to invade it, nor declare war or negotiate peace without the consent of the Diet; finally, that no one could assume the Crown of Hungary without first signing the said diploma. During three centuries the House of Hapsburg had frequently endeavoured to violate these articles, and wars had always been the result, succeeded by new attestations of the rights of the Hungarian nation—France, England, Sweden, and Holland sometimes acting as mediators and guarantees.

The Emperor of Austria, Francis I., had also confirmed these rights in 1804, yet, nevertheless, the Court of Vienna was constantly attempting to curtail or violate them. The result was, that when the Viennese oligarchy was conquered in 1848, Hungary sent deputies to the Emperor, to request him to restore their rights; on which the Emperor acquiesced in their wishes, and afterwards went to Presburg to sanction them.

But the excitement which the events of 1848 had

produced in the minds of the various races, Magyars, Germans, Slavonians, and Latins, who inhabit Hungary, furnished Austria with the opportunity of employing the democratic movement, naturally adverse to the privilege and pre-eminence of one race over another, to excite the anger of the other races, and specially of the Slavonians, against the Magyars, who are the dominant race. The Ban of Croatia rose to arms, in the name of independence and of the Emperor, and invaded Hungary; the Magyars, in their turn, took up arms, to combat, as they said, the enemies of Hungary and those of the Crown, to which they manifested so much devotion that they assisted it with arms and money to subdue the rebels in Italy.

That same Kossuth, who was afterwards head of the Revolution and Dictator of Hungary, was foremost in counselling all such projects as were favourable to Austria, either because he dissembled, or was so void of foresight as not to see that as soon as Austria had recovered her empire in Italy she would turn her forces against his own country; and so indeed it turned out soon after, for the Emperor sent a powerful army, in the month of December, to chastise the Hungarians. But as he had ascended the throne without observing the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Hungarians, strong in their national right, did not lay down their arms, and a serious war ensued, which lasted many months, with varying fortunes, and cost Austria two armies and the fame of her best Generals. But during the heat of the strife in which the Magyars had humbled the rival races or kept them to their fidelity;

the nature of the Hungarian movement had changed, and Kossuth, the Dictator, had embraced the hazards of democracy and universal revolution. Thence resulted bitter quarrels in the State, bitter jealousies in the army, discords between the Polish and Hungarian Generals, and discussions between the bold innovators and those who would not violate national traditions. Meantime, the Hungarians being victorious, Kossuth reached the height of his power, and sent advices to Venice, encouraging her to persevere in her resistance; he also dispatched envoys, who promised her assistance in money, ships, and soldiers.

Thus the Venetians were animated to persevere; and when the Imperial Minister, De Bruck, wrote to Manin, on the 31st of May, that he had arrived at Mestre with the commission to enter on negotiations for peace, the Assembly, though it gave power to Manin to treat with De Bruck, resolved, by a majority of 97 votes against 9, to hold firm. The attack and defence continued during the whole of the month of June, and negotiations were carried on at the same time with the Imperial Minister in Verona: by the Venetians, with the desire to save their independence; by De Bruck, with the desire to persuade them to submit to a union with the kingdom of Lombardy, which he promised should be governed on liberal principles. The Assembly again resolved, on the 30th of June, by 105 votes against 13, that the offers of Austria, as they did not guarantee the rights of the Venetian people, or respect the dignity of the nation, were promises without guarantees, and conventions

void of honour, and that, consequently, all negotiations were broken off. The war continued, during the month of July, with unabated and even greater violence; carried on by the Austrians with much skill, constancy, and bravery; by the Italians, with much valour; and by the city supported with much magnanimity and fortitude. Venice endured dearth, famine, conflagrations, devastation, the plague of Cholera, every extreme of misery! Meantime, as the forces sent by Austria, and its own intestine discords, had not been sufficient to subdue Hungary, Austria had also broken through her own traditions, and invoked the aid of Russia, her haughty rival; and Russia had come forward promptly, for she was not only naturally averse to popular and national movements, but was also afraid that Poland would assume a threatening attitude, and was anxious to extend her influence over the Slavonic populations and the west of Europe. When the news of the Muscovite invasion, and of the first disasters which had befallen the Hungarians, reached Venice, the Assembly accredited Manin with full power to act, according to the best of his ability, for the safety and honour of the city; but Manin would not consent to surrender, until he had heard that Hungary was subdued. On the 22nd of August he received certain intelligence of the fact; and on the 23rd he published a proclamation, in which he notified that, as *necessity enforced acts in which neither the Assembly nor the Government could share,* all authority was given up into the hands of the Municipality. Thus the Austrians entered a few days afterwards into silent, de-

serted Venice—and thus ended all war in Italy! all resistance to the foreigner!

Naples was a prey to furious revenge; any man whatever, who had distinguished himself by love towards Italy, and by fidelity towards the Constitution —ministers, deputies, senators, magistrates, priests, soldiers—was either condemned to take refuge in foreign ships from the treachery of the police, and to seek safety in exile, or was thrown into prison in the midst of ruffians, and exposed to all kinds of mental and physical tortures: whoever was hateful to the insolent spies and wretched informers that were all-powerful in the police, was a mark for accusations and examinations; some were vilified from motives of private vengeance, some for the sake of gold; there was no guarantee for the safety of the citizen; no restraint of law, no shame in the Government, nothing but the most barefaced tyranny. The Austrians were all powerful in Tuscany; the Prince morbidly under the influence of the Courts of Naples, Portici, and Vienna; the Government on the downward road of dishonour and despotism. In the Duchies of Parma and Modena, the Austrians were also all powerful; the Government was mild in Modena, but in Parma harmonised with the profligate disposition of the young Duke. Piedmont alone, free from the presence of foreigners, preserved its national banner and its free institutions, whilst it gave hospitality to the Italians who fled thither from the vengeance of foreign foes, or of the factions which were triumphant in their own land. This was the state of Italy.

Germany, which, even during the period of popular triumphs and audacious hopes, had encouraged and aided Austria in the war against Italy—Germany, buffeted between Austrian treachery and the petty ambition of Prussia, had thrown herself back into the past. Russia had increased in power and credit; military rule existed in all the Austrian States; in France the Republic had been betrayed by the intemperance of economic factions, and by the powerful monarchical parties, which preserved no moderation on recovering their influence, but insulted the cause of liberty, trod under foot the rights of nations, praised the violent deeds of every Government, and thus cleared the path for despotism. Bonaparte allowed them to load themselves with the hatred and contempt of the people, and submitted to their ephemeral empire, because he perceived clearly that when the Parliament, which is the natural guardian of the public liberties, should have brought itself into bad odour with the people, it would be easy for him to establish his own empire. Amongst the petty States of Europe, Belgium remained free and untouched; amongst great nations, England alone —tranquil, free, and strong—pityingly beheld those nations who neither knew how to use liberty nor how to submit to slavery.

The new Ministry which succeeded that of Barrot in France not being restrained by any previous promises, turned its attention to Roman affairs, with the sole intention of calming the anger which the famous letter to Ney had kindled, and of inducing the Pope to

return to Rome. The anger of the Court had been mitigated, and its suspicions dissipated, ever since the Assembly had received the *Motu proprio* of Portici with entire satisfaction; and the Pope had said, "We could not return to Rome, so long as France left it doubtful whether it would fetter Our independent will; but now that she appears ready to guarantee Our independence, We hope soon to be able to return to Our Rome." But notwithstanding this, the Court had fresh ground for discontent in the removal of General Rostolan, who had been a great favourite at Gaeta, and the appointment of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was reputed to have but little partiality for the clergy, and much for Bonaparte, of whom the Court was suspicious. But as the new Commander had been enjoined to pursue such measures as would not further delay the return of the Pope, he abstained from any proceeding which might cause irritation; he even merited approbation for taking severe measures to intimidate the assassins who had stained their hands in the blood of his soldiers. In the meanwhile the Government pursued its way, in accordance with the wishes of the Cardinals; Galli doubled the property tax for the concluding months of the year, increased the fiscal fines, and put in force all the confiscations. Monsignor Savelli called the Bishops to aid in the political inquisitions; the Cardinal Vicar prohibited all schoolmasters whatever from opening schools without his permission; the Sacred Congregation of Instruction closed the colleges, ordered that young men should be

taught in their native Provinces, by teachers nominated by the Bishops; in short, the will of the clergy was absolute, and their true character shown.

The French soldiers, over whom strict discipline was maintained, neither annoyed the citizens, nor showed entire obedience to the ecclesiastical Police —on the contrary, they sometimes saved some poor wretch from their anger; the military tribunals took cognisance only of crimes against public safety; their courts were public, their punishments moderate; the military commanders did not interfere in the administration of the State. The Spaniards in the Provinces which bordered on the capital, though they did not maintain such strict discipline as the French, and sometimes gave way to insolence, were not either tyrannical or harsh. The Austrians, in other parts of the State, also kept up the appearance of discipline, but they were inexorable against the Liberals, barbarous in their forms of trial, cruel in their penalties; they tyrannised not only over the citizens, but over the Government; the military tribunals pronounced twenty-four sentences of death in five months; they condemned more than sixty persons to imprisonment in heavy irons, to fasting, and to the lash. The French and Spaniards did not receive pay from the Pontifical Government; but the Austrians did, and they not only received high pay, but, by way of adding to it, they taxed the Communes at their pleasure. Nor did they do much to secure the public safety, for the northern provinces, over which they ruled, were more infested than any of the others by numerous bands of

brigands, who robbed with impunity on the high roads, in the villages, and small towns. The Pontifical police were incompetent to repress them, some were the accomplices of these brigands; the prodigality of punishments was utterly ineffectual. Neither did the Austrians contribute towards giving a good name to the clerical rulers, or strengthening their authority. They rather made a boast of despising them, and treating them as dependents; and they loaded both the clergy and their Government with abuse, to a greater degree than any of the other foreigners who had taken up arms against Rome.

Whilst the people of the Roman States and of the whole of Italy were in this troubled and distressed condition, Mazzini, safe in Switzerland, ventured upon his *Coup-d'Etat* (as the term is now-a-days, and too frequently the practice), against the Assembly of the Roman Republic. The Assembly had accepted the resignation of the Triumvirs, as I have said, and nominated their successors, but Mazzini, who fancied himself Dictator by the grace of God, resumed his rank and power in exile, with the consent of the fugitive Deputies. Nor was he content to lord it secretly over his own party, but he assumed the manners and bearing of a real pretender, of a Roman autocrat, or rather of an Italian Emperor, for he created offices of State, published the names of the Ministers, published his *Motu proprio* to the Romans, and his Manifesto to the Italians; he negotiated a loan for the Roman Republic, prohibited the use of tobacco and of French merchandise, menaced the contumacious with punish-

ment, sent proclamations and warnings into Italy, together with delegates, spies, tax-gatherers, and commissioners of all kinds. He formed an alliance with the refugees of other nations, proclaimed that the Holy Alliance of the people was effected, made common cause with those economic parties against which he had formerly raised his voice, and preached a speedy revenge against the Pope, against kings, and against armies, against the Constitutionalists, and against all and every one who did not swear by him. Thousands of Italians had gone wanderers into the world; among them were many honest men, proscribed by their Governments, or flying the vengeance of triumphant factions; some were excited by the hope of a reaction, others by despair, some by fear of punishment due to crimes committed; others trafficked upon the credulous compassion of nations, and the sacred sorrows of exile. Among this fugitive multitude, Mazzini found friends, ministers, commissioners, servants; and as all the Italian Governments (with the exception of Piedmont, which was extraordinarily honest and sagacious) pursued, to a greater or less degree, such measures as were suited, not to reduce their people to tranquillity, but to give them up a prey to despair, the way was cleared for Mazzini to link many wretched creatures to his fortunes, and to bring down still greater punishments, still greater miseries, still greater calamities upon the Italian people. Thus, unhappy Italy was afflicted with a triple tyranny—that of the foreigner, of the Court, and of Mazzini. Thus the year 1849 approached its close.

Pius IX. was still at Portici at the beginning of 1850. In the Pontifical Court the former offices existed, but some new Prelates had been introduced; Della Porta and Piccolomini had been dismissed, having incurred the imputation of a leaning towards reforms. Cardinal Antonelli was omnipotent at Court, omnipotent in the Sacred College, because, although the other Cardinals, who were more impetuous than he, taxed him with moderation, and had a grudge against him, and those few who were really moderate bore no good will towards him, yet, as he was strong in the favour of the Pope and in the patronage of foreign Governments, and possessed of consummate astuteness, he still retained his supremacy. The wisest and most temperate amongst the Cardinals, Amat, Bofondo, Ciacchi, Marini, Orioli, and Soglia, were without political power, and had no weight in the counsels of the Court. The office of Treasurer was maintained, but the Finance was placed under the direction of the pro-Minister Galli; the public debt, if the paper money be included, amounted to about 70,000,000 scudi; some taxes had been doubled, all the old duties and taxes restored, together with the farming of the excise; monopolies, confiscations, and custom-house tariffs; nevertheless, the annual deficit had increased and was increasing. The few regular troops were undisciplined, without orders, without commanders; instruction, education, and charity directed and administered by the clergy. There was the clerical police and French police in Rome; the clerical police and Austrian police in the provinces. The Censorship of the Press was not conducted in accord-

ance either with the Pope's edict of 1847, or with any other law, but in compliance with the arbitrary will of the Holy Office, of the Bishops, and of the Police. A general political inquisition was instituted over all the functionaries of the State and of the Municipalities. All the ancient Tribunals—civil and criminal, ecclesiastical, mixed, and exceptional—were restored, and foreign military Tribunals maintained throughout the State. All the citizens were disarmed, brigands were masters of their lives and their property. All immunities were restored, together with all ecclesiastical privileges; all diplomatic offices were privileges of the clergy, with all the supreme dignities and offices in the administration, in the magistracy, and in the police. The Jesuits became more powerful and active than ever. Thirty thousand foreigners were scattered through the Pontifical States. The prisons were full, and the stick employed for the punishment of prisoners. The proscribed, the exiles, those dismissed from office, might be counted by thousands, and these included not only republicans, constitutionalists, and reformers of every kind, but some who were not connected with any party whatever—friends of the early reforms and of the first brilliant actions of Pius IX. The Roman nobility were adverse now to ecclesiastical supremacy, a large portion of the higher classes and the citizens were hostile, the people were enraged and rebellious. In the provinces the nobility were rebellious; in the towns, the citizens and the poorer classes. The inferior clergy were neither friendly to the Government nor its accomplices; the population of the rural dis-

tricts were discontented with the taxes, discontented with the foreigners who had disarmed them, discontented with the police which gave them up as prey to thieves. Commerce and trade were at a lower ebb than ever; no gold, no silver, nothing but paper money in circulation; of metallic money there was none, except certain copper pieces as heavy as a scudo. Factions were active and violent. By degrees the differences which existed between parties, and the enmities between the citizens and the factions attached to various forms of social life subsided, owing to the insane and violent measures of the Government, under which all who were of any standing, and the whole of the laity, were oppressed and humbled. Therefore, unwilling to bend their necks beneath such a yoke, they laid aside their private feuds, and, uniting in one common feeling of hatred towards the clerical Government, lived in the earnest hope of change, whilst some looked for one opportunity, some for another, which might bring about an alteration. In this state was the Pontifical Government at the beginning of 1850.

THE END.

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

LETTER

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MOST DISTINGUISHED SIR,

I HAVE dedicated this concluding volume of my little work on the Roman States to you, as the best testimony I can offer of the gratitude I feel towards you. By your translation of it into English you have established its reputation amongst your countrymen, and by commending my country to public opinion you have obtained for it the only consolation which a great nation can with propriety bestow, and an unhappy people with dignity accept.

I have not brought my narrative down to the present day, because, having no unpublished documents on which to found any further recital, in the same manner as I have had it in my power to do with what I have hitherto written, I thought that a simple narrative alone would not satisfy the severe requirements of those who look for accurate investigations and established proofs. But as I believed, on the other hand, that foreigners might perhaps feel some curiosity respecting the more striking events which have since occurred, I decided on relating them to you, Sir, who, by your love of Italian letters, and by your deeds of Italian charity, have established a relationship with Italy in the spirit of those great Italian writers who have been our masters in eloquence, in civil philosophy, and in national virtue, from Dante and Macchiavelli, down to Alfieri and Gioberti.

I.

I therefore proceed to relate that Cardinal Antonelli announced to the Foreign Ministers, at the end of March in the year 1850, that His Holiness would shortly return to Rome, and that he hoped his allies would persevere in their endeavours to guarantee *the liberty and independence indispensable to the universal government of the Church and to its peace, which is, in fact, the peace of Europe.* Pius IX. accordingly left Portici on the 4th of April, and after he had blessed King Ferdinand, who had piously accompanied him to the limits of his kingdom, he proceeded by way of Terracina and Velletri, to Rome, where he arrived on the 12th in the midst of the French, who escorted and surrounded him. On the 15th the Ambassadors waited upon him, and on the 17th the military Chiefs; on the 18th he blessed the troops in the Piazza San Pietro.

When Pius IX. re-ascended the throne of mercy, he did not relieve the oppressed, but, on the contrary, his government became more and more severe during the period which preceded and followed his return. And as, where factions are triumphant, the good, confiding in their own innocence, do not care to seek for defenders, a pursuit for which the guilty show an astonishing aptitude, it happened that many defenceless persons, who had already suffered from republican violence, were ruined during that period, for there was nothing harsh, grasping, or unjust, which the triumphant faction did not dare to perpetrate. Hence those few citizens who had always flattered themselves that they should receive gentle and humane treatment on the return of the Pope, lost all hope, and irritated by fresh injuries, soon forgot the sufferings of the revolution, and made common cause with those who had feared and prognosticated every kind of evil from the restoration of the temporal

sovereignty of the Pope. Moreover, as the revolution had been brought to an end by force of arms, and not by compliance with the legitimate wants and desires of the people, Mazzini took advantage of the errors and treachery of the Government, to stir up afresh the minds of many whom a prudent and honourable government might have conciliated, by a humane and temperate course of action.

The anniversary of the Republic having been celebrated in Rome by some fireworks, the prelates of the *Sacra Consulta* condemned to twenty years of the galleys certain youths who had been accused of this singular crime, which the inventive genius of the judges had created and punished before it was inscribed in the code. The young men of the city having abstained from smoking tobacco in order to annoy the Government and lessen the revenue, the same tribunal invented the crime of *coalition against the use of tobacco*, and condemned some individuals who had been accused of it to the galleys—punishments inflicted, according to them, by way of example, and for the purpose of striking terror; a singular mode indeed of administering Christian justice. The Austrian officers gave still more singular and numerous instances of this kind of justice in the provinces over which they tyrannised; for example, abstinence from tobacco, singing, political squibs, caricatures, crimes which the Austrians termed *anti-political demonstrations*, were punished with imprisonment in heavy irons, with fasting, and with blows on the bare flesh; and these punishments were inflicted, not only by way of penalty, but also as tortures to drag from their victims the lying confession wrung from suffering. I speak of things which are universally known, the sentences are public, a whole people are the witnesses; three years and a half have already passed, and they still continue to pass sentence after this fashion; to flog and to proscribe.

The numerous proscriptions, the innumerable emigrations, have deprived the *Sacra Consulta* of much material for inquisition. Cernuschi, who had the good fortune to be tried by the French, was set at liberty after a short imprisonment; the French also facilitated the escape of Gazzola, a prelate, and of Achilli, formerly a monk; Count Faella, of Imola, a Deputy of the Constituent Assembly, was kept in prison three years, and then banished as a special favour by the Pope. Calandrelli was condemned to an infamous punishment, although public opinion, as well as his blameless life, witnessed to his innocence; Bubani, of Bagnacavallo, a moderate and honourable man, was severely punished, because, when president of the province of Fermo, he had arrested Cardinal de Angelis by order of the Government; the soldiers of the National Guard, who had carried this order into execution, were also punished; Count Puliti, of Recanati, a Deputy, was condemned to death—then, by special favour, his sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. I say nothing of many other sentences, but I may mention, as an example of inquisitions and punishments of minor importance, that a person was condemned by the *Sacra Consulta* to five years of the galleys, because he had printed a satire against a deceased priest during the period of the Republic.

The investigations and sentences of the Court of Censorship on the officers of the Government and of the Municipalities have lasted three years, and perhaps are not yet ended. I will give some instances of the justice and equity of this secret tribunal. A certain Marchesini, head of the post at Bologna, a man who was averse to interfering in political affairs of any kind whatever, and who, in perilous times, had shown hospitality to a brother of the Pope, was made the victim of the Court; Martinelli, an advocate, was deprived of his Professorship in the University, though he had been condemned to the

very same sentence by the Government of the Republic, because he had refused to give in his adhesion to it; Ferranti, a priest, who had brought forward a motion in the Municipal Council for the restoration of the Constitutional Government of the Pope, was also deprived of his Professorship; Alessandri, the principal ornament of the *Athenæum*, was removed from his office for some time; and even Professor Montanari, an Ex-Minister, who had gone with the Pope to Gaeta, was admonished. In Rome, Professor Baroni, a skilful physician, who had formerly been a surgeon to Gregory XVI., was deprived of his rank and office, because he had superintended the military hospitals of the Republic; De Rossi lost his chair because he had once appeared in the Constituent Assembly to vote against the majority of the Deputies who had deposed the Pope.

If any one were to draw up a record of all the sentences which the *Sacra Consulta* and the Austrian military tribunals have passed in the Pontifical State; if he were to compile the statistics of all the subjects of the Pope who have been deprived of their offices, banished, proscribed, flogged, and imprisoned, he would prove to Europe and Christendom, much more conclusively than any history or reasoning, what kind of peace the crusade of 1849 has produced.

In the annals of the last three years have also to be recounted the extraordinary exploits of the brigands, who, in the very midst of so many foreign troops, and during a state of siege, not only break into houses, stop, strip and kill travellers, but who plunder small towns and villages, skirmish with soldiers, and give banquets and dances at their own good pleasure. It is of no avail that the Austrians flog, torture, shoot them by hundreds; they are masters of the lives and property of the defenceless citizens, who are obliged to pay taxes to these

thieves, in addition to the taxes and exactions of the Government; happy if they can purchase from them, with gold, that protection which the Government cannot afford. Punishments are frequent, yet rapine does not diminish; the brigands meet death with extraordinary fortitude, their crimes do not excite astonishment, nor their deaths inspire fear.

Assassins shed blood to gratify political revenge, and the Government revenges assassinations with blood. In Rome, Nardoni was wounded by a dagger, and the gallows were raised; Dandini, an assessor of the Police, was wounded; Evangelisti, a Secretary of the *Sacra Consulta*, was slain; in the provinces any Commissioner or officer who was severe and zealous was either killed or wounded. Yet, tremendous and numerous examples have been made of the assassins who infested our city during the Revolution, and more are anticipated; but they will all be ineffectual, because too late and too numerous, and not backed by guarantees of impartial justice.

A year after the Manifesto of Portici, Cardinal Antonelli began to publish the laws therein announced. A new order, which emanated from the ministry, entirely cancelled the *Motu proprii* of June and December, 1847, and restored the supreme authority to the Cardinal Secretary of State. He alone treats with Ambassadors, controls the Cardinal legates, superintends the Tribunals of ecclesiastical and mixed jurisdiction, the Revenue and the Police; he alone confers offices and honours in the name of the Pope; to him alone appeals are made against the decisions of his Commissioners, who style themselves Ministers. The institution of the Council of State was not a guarantee for the people, but only a make-shift for the Government, who had recommended it in 1831. According to the terms of one of these new laws, the State was to be divided into principal Departments, which were to be governed by a Cardinal; the Pro-

vinces by a Prelate. Another year passed before the provisions made for the creation of a Consulta of Finance, and for the Municipalities, came to light. The Consulta is selected by the Pope, and is under the presidency of a Cardinal; its office is confined within the limits of a Council for auditing the accounts; this Council has only just met for the first time. The administration of the Municipalities is dependent on the Government by the new law, in the same way as by the Gregorian law; the Councillors are to be elected by a limited constituency, but this first time they have been chosen by the Government.

Antonelli still remains Secretary of State, Savelli, Galli, Giansanti, Giacobini, the Ministers. The Governor of Rome, at this moment, is Matteucci, a Prelate; Prince Orsini was succeeded in the command of the troops by Kalbermatten, a Swiss, who had been discharged on an accusation of peculation, during the Pontificate of Gregory; he only remained a short time in office, and Orsini was then reinstated. He also held office for a brief period only, and was superseded by a military Intendant, called Farina, who had been removed from office by Pius IX., because it had been reported that he was more alive to his own interests than to those of the public. There is a War Office, and soldiers are scattered about here and there, some of them commanded in the French, others in the German fashion, misgoverned everywhere after the Papal fashion; but there is no army, nor will there be, because the Government cannot trust its own subjects, and the subjects cannot trust the Government, which is fortunate if it can scrape together a few rascals from its own States, and a few adventurers from without. It has attempted in vain to enlist soldiers in Spain, in France, and it is even said in Ireland; it fancied that the knights of Malta, if they could be resuscitated, might command a Papal army; it has invented expedients of every description; it is even re-

ported that the King of Naples was not averse to sell to the Pope the few Swiss who sell themselves to him; but this may be doubted, for the King of Naples himself requires a foreign garrison.

The public debt increases; paper money remains in circulation; the income is so far from meeting the expenditure, that the annual deficit amounts to 2,000,000 of scudi. More than once the Government has suddenly doubled the Property Tax, and the very heavy taxes on the Communes; two years ago it imposed so heavy a tax, considering the circumstances of the country, upon the arts, commerce, and manufactures, that it could not be collected, though in some places the tax-gatherers carried off the bridal ornaments and the wretched furniture of poor families.

To be brief. The Government is, as formerly, purely clerical, for the Cardinal Secretary of State is the only real Minister; Cardinals and Prelates prevail, if not in number, at any rate in authority in the Council of State and in the Consulta of Finance; Cardinals and Prelates govern the Provinces; the clergy alone have the supreme administration of all that relates to instruction, charity, diplomacy, justice, censorship, and the police. The finances are ruined; commerce and traffic at the very lowest ebb; smuggling has sprung to life again; all the immunities, all the jurisdiction of the clergy are restored. Taxes and rates are imposed in abundance, without rule or measure. There is neither public nor private safety; no moral authority, no real army, no railroads, no telegraphs. Studies are neglected; there is not a breath of liberty, not a hope of tranquil life; two foreign armies; a permanent state of siege, atrocious acts of revenge, factions raging, universal discontent; such is the Papal Government at the present day.

Let us glance at the other Italian governments.

II.

You have given your countrymen sufficient information, Sir, respecting the Neapolitan Government, to enable them to judge of its nature. The scandalous trials for high treason still continue at Naples; accusers, examiners, judges, false witnesses, all are bought; the prisons, those tombs of the living, are full; 2000 citizens, of all ranks and conditions, are already condemned to the dungeons; as many to confinement; double that number to exile; the majority guilty of no crime but that of having believed in the oaths made by Ferdinand II.

Italy is grieved, though not surprised, at Bourbon perfidy; but she wonders at the Government which oppresses lovely Tuscany, where Leopold II. has destroyed the free institutions which he had given over and over again, and guaranteed with a hundred promises; he has also restored the penalty of death, even for political offences; he has given to the police the power of summary judgment, with heavy penalties, and to the Austrians the guardianship of his throne. The Austrians flog even in Tuscany—in Leghorn with the forms of military law, in Florence at the caprice of the soldiers, as one of your countrymen knows to his cost. Liberty of conscience is not tolerated; whoever reads the Bible is condemned to the dungeon; toleration is restricted; the Jews have lost a portion of their civil rights. These measures are the more odious to the Tuscans, inasmuch as they have not been accustomed to them, and thus the very country which was once the dwelling of peace and concord is now harassed by suspicions, by hatred, and by factions.

In Lombardy and Venezia, Austria maintains her dominion by the sword and by punishments alone; a dominion *neither just nor happy*, as Pius IX. pronounced and prophesied, in his

letter to the Emperor Ferdinand, written in the year 1848. These Provinces are, in fact, administered as though they had been conquered but yesterday by a barbarous army, which feared to lose them to-morrow; after the lapse of three years, the police, justice, and we may even add, the finances, are all in the power of the soldiery; the gallows drip with blood; whoever can, takes flight. In Parma, where the Duke is in himself alone a scandal and a scourge, and in Modena, where, in comparison with Parma, the Government is mild, the Austrian troops have also the upper hand.

III.

In the Preface to your Translation of my Work you have said, Sir, that "in order to raise a favourable feeling in England, the Italian writers should busy themselves to show, not merely that the Austrian dominion is at variance with the unity and nationality of Italy, but that Austria is really open to the charge which they make against her of *giving countenance to abuses, winking at tyranny, discouraging improvement, and obstructing the tendencies towards Constitutional freedom in the other States of Italy, in virtue of a pretended Protectorate to which she has no claim.*" From the day in which you made the observation, up to the present time, Austria has given such evident testimony of her views, that it seems useless now to spend words in order to convince Europe respecting them. Not only has Austria, in fact, restored throughout the re-conquered Provinces a despotism still more severe than that which oppressed them in 1848, but every Italian State in which she has a garrison is deprived, thanks to her, of all liberty, and governed at the caprice of the military, whilst Tuscany has not only lost liberty and peace, but a portion of those civil liberties which she had enjoyed during

a whole century. The *Protectorate*, to which you say, Sir, that *Austria has no claim*, bears at the present day every semblance of Imperial rule, of which her military garrisons, criminal jurisdictions, the ports occupied by her on both seas, the flagrant despotism which she exercises, the commercial leagues enforced, the railroads ordered to be made, are the manifest results and signs. So that *the Protectorate* not only *is at variance with the nationality of Italy, not only gives countenance to abuses, not only obstructs the tendencies towards Constitutional freedom in the other States of Italy*, but openly violates the treaties of Vienna.

IV.

Piedmont has preserved its free institutions; its army is reorganised, its credit is restored, its finances have recovered, its cities are extending; works of public utility are going on, commerce and manufactures have received a fresh impetus; the indirect revenues of the State are on the increase, salaries have been augmented, the population is increasing; the people are quiet, devoted and grateful to their King, who has maintained the Constitutional liberties so dear to his people with singular fidelity.

But the proceedings and character of the Governments which at present prevail on the European Continent, and especially those which are situated on its confines, are dangerous to Piedmont. You are aware, Sir, that Italians easily allow their minds to be fascinated by the opinions and example of the French. Now, it is very certain that in the same way as the democratic factions relied upon France four years ago, retrograde factions also rely on the example and the influence of France at the present day.

Austria naturally beholds with an evil eye the free institu-

tions which attach liberal Italians to the House of Savoy, and she bears a grudge against the Constitution which has gained more than a conquest would have done for Victor Emmanuel, and which has retrieved, as it were, the disaster of Novara.

The Governments of Naples, Tuscany, and the Duchies, to whose consciences this example of regal good faith is a reproach, are on indifferent terms with the Piedmontese Government. I believe that legal proofs would not be wanting, if we wished to establish the existence of perils from without, and of secret treacheries aimed at the Constitutional liberties of Piedmont; and the criteria are certainly not wanting on which public opinion may found its judgment of facts.

The Court of Rome is particularly bitter, and the others fan its ire.

V.

The controversies between the State and the Court of Rome are of long standing in Piedmont, though the Kings of Savoy have always adhered firmly to the Catholic religion, and have always shown reverence towards the Papal Chair. In the last century, during the reigns of Victor Amadeo II. and Carlo Emmanuel III., the Court of Rome promulgated a report that the Piedmontese Government was making profession *of damnable and heretical maxims;* and it may be seen from the memorials of those times how bitterly the Court of Rome, on the one hand, and how firmly the Piedmontese Government, on the other hand, carried on the dispute. Any one who may be disposed to draw comparisons between those times and the present will perceive, that if the Court of Rome has not changed in its temper and style, which it does not easily alter, the Court of Turin has changed, seeing that during

the last century, king, ministers, and magistrates pursued a course much more displeasing and harsh than the present Government. Rome has taken occasion to embitter the controversy, not only from the annihilation of public liberty on the Continent of Europe, but from the Piedmontese Constitution itself, which acts as a check on the arbitrary power of the Government. So that M. de Montalembert is right when he says, in a recent publication, that liberty is not to be blamed for the discord which at present exists; but that, on the contrary, it may be affirmed that Rome is indebted to free institutions alone for the licence in which her own followers participate.*

These controversies do not turn either on Catholic belief, or on the spiritual authority of the Pope, or on the Episcopacy, or even on ecclesiastical discipline, as might naturally be supposed from the noise which is made and the intemperate language which is used, but on the prerogatives, the privileges, and the temporal influence of the Ecclesiastical power.

VI.

History teaches us that as nations progressively rise out of barbarism, and society becomes civilised, the Church gradually loses that power, and the priesthood that temporal pre-eminence which they exercise to the advantage of civil intercourse and the satisfaction of the people in the infancy of society and during the period of organic change. Nothing is more manifest at the present day than that, in an advanced state of society, there is a natural tendency to the emancipation of

* "C'est à la liberté que nous devons, en fait, le succès merveilleux et imprévu des intérêts catholiques."—*Des Intérêts Catholiques*, par M. De Montalembert, p. 69. Paris, 1852.—Tr.

the State from the patronage and control of the Church; to the emancipation of the Church from the patronage and control of the State; and to the emancipation of the religious conscience of the citizen from all temporal dominion whatever. Those ill understand this process who look at and preach the separation of the two powers as the ultimate object; because the separation is nothing but the painful travail which precedes the reciprocal independence and liberty of the two powers, and the liberty and independence of the conscience of the individual, which is alone the ultimate object and the highest good. The strife is violent during the process of separation, because both powers are equally averse to lose those privileges and powers of interference which, by reason of long possession, have assumed the form of rights; and both are up in arms not only to recover their own, but to usurp and hold what belongs to the other. If the civil power carry on the strife by treading under foot the rights of ecclesiastical liberty and of the individual conscience, the faithful are excited to enmity against the State, and rebel against it in spirit; if, on the other hand, the ecclesiastical power tread under foot the rights of civil liberty, those who are strongly attached to it are easily tempted to assume full freedom of thought as regards religion, and thus many become heretics. If active rebellion and heresy do not spring up, it is because civilisation prohibits acts of open violence equally to all, and because it has already eternally extinguished by the breath of liberty the *auto da fês* of emperors, as well as those of the Holy Inquisition. The people feel that the strife between Church and State is not a religious but a civil quarrel; fanaticism of every description finds but little fuel; the outbursts of anger, which assume its garb, are not fire but smoke. The narrow-minded imagine that society is becoming irreligious, because the

Church is losing her temporal power; but, on the contrary, religion is acquiring a greater authority than ever over the conscience; they imagine that Governments are timid and illiberal because they do not at once strike a blow at the ecclesiastical power, but, in point of fact, liberty gains by their forbearance.

Churchmen and Statesmen ought to keep their attention fixed on these data, and bring back the question to its first principles, which alone can clear and settle it. Ecclesiastical or State jurists understand but little about it; they look at the form and not at the substance—the appearance, and not the reality; they disturb and spoil it with their subtleties of the Canon or the Roman law, which cannot decide these matters unless they are conformed to the supreme law of liberty which ought to prevail in Christian societies—in which the faithful desires liberty of creed and of worship, the citizen civil liberty, both independence; the former rebels in spirit against the State which does violence to his belief or mode of worship; the latter is divorced in spirit from the Church if it trample upon his civil rights; intemperance and violence prove nothing on either side: the State cannot enslave the believer, the Church cannot enslave the citizen.

VII.

When free institutions govern a State, acts of violence directed by the civil power against the ecclesiastical or against the conscience of the individual, are difficult of accomplishment, rare, and of little importance; but in such States the progress of society towards the independence of the two powers is also loudly proclaimed, and the temporary travail of the separation makes more noise than elsewhere. Therefore Pied-

mont, which in its efforts after civil emancipation from clerical control had remained behind even the greater portion of the Italian States, is more in earnest now on account of the resistance shown by the ecclesiastical power, and, because it is free, makes its voice heard. But since this resistance is not backed by the temporal power, and, on the other hand, free institutions prevent the civil power from abusing force in order to conquer it, the country continues religious, and becomes more liberal, in spite of both the combatants. Yet as the ecclesiastical power has of late become far more ambitious, in consequence of the events which have lately occurred, both in Rome and other parts of Europe, the controversies between the Piedmontese State and the Court of Rome have been mixed up with the general question of the temporal power of the clergy and their participation in secular affairs.

VIII.

The Roman revolution procured great moral authority for Pius IX.; because it was to him more than towards the Papacy that all generous hearts turned with reverence, for they saw in him a pontiff of holy life, a humane prince, and the founder of free institutions. At the same time all who were endeavouring to tranquillise the excitement of the people and the perturbation of society turned towards the Papacy from motives of civil prudence or political foresight. The religious sentiment, and the piety of the people, did not so much tend to prepare and arm the crusade as the desire of Governments to restore a power which might assist them to strengthen their failing authority. The crusade was at least as much political as it was religious; if indeed we may not assert that it was principally political and social. Thus the Papacy was furnished

with a splendid opportunity of restoring to the Church those liberties and rights which the State had usurped, and the Governments assented, because in their position it was popular and not ecclesiastical liberty which caused them the greater alarm and injury. Popular liberty being naturally hateful to the clerical Government, founded as it is upon the temporal dominion of the Popes, was given up by the Papacy into the hands of those Governments which restored or established ecclesiastical liberty at the same time that they restored the temporal dominion. I do not mean to affirm that these were actual conditions. It was the Revolution, the Crusade, and Fate that made these stipulations between the Pope and the Princes.

Inebriated by its triumph, intoxicated by French teachers who disseminate, as something new, doctrines of the time of King Pepin, the Roman Court imagined that the present century, tired and frightened at liberty, would apply itself to restore that strong authority and that sacerdotal pre-eminence which were in vigour during the middle ages; and that not only would political liberty be overthrown, but with it that social liberty which, under some political form or other, the present age desires to acquire, maintain, and consolidate. Whence it was, that when the absolute Government of the clergy was restored in the Roman States, the Court effected alliances with all the Governments which put narrow limits to popular freedom, and as it was intent not only on procuring ecclesiastical liberty, but also on preserving and restoring those ancient privileges which were contrary or hostile to civil liberty, it promoted and favoured a universal re-action against social as well as political liberty. Hence many writers and ecclesiastical orators have taken upon themselves to condemn not only free institutions, but all *modernised* Governments (by which phrase they

really mean to signify the liberal institutions of modern society) as the cause of temporal miseries and spiritual damnation. They use two weights and two measures—they praise and bless all absolute Governments as models of religion and piety, and they even absolve them from any sin they may have committed against the priesthood, whilst they hate and curse all liberal Governments, and tax them with irreligion if they defend or seek after civil liberty. Piedmont is the most cursed and the most tormented of all, because it is more intent than any other Government, in the present day, on being emancipated from clerical police, and because it maintains the political freedom which is hateful to the absolute Governments of Italy, who are full of hatred towards Piedmont, and foment the anger of the allied Court of Rome. Thus these controversies are connected, more closely than appears at first sight, with the *problem of the temporal dominion of the Pope*, and with all its consequences, that is to say, with that problem which you have, Sir, asserted with good reason in your preface, to be most important to *Europe and Christendom*. I shall now touch briefly on this problem, commencing with a few historical notices.

IX.

There is no doubt that the donation of Constantine is a fable; there is no doubt that during the first three centuries the Popes had no temporal dominion; subjects of the Emperor, elected by the clergy and the people of Rome, they could not be consecrated without the imperial sanction. Gregory the Great, first Imperial Prefect, then Monk, then Pope, acquired, it is true, great authority as an arbiter between the East and the West; nevertheless, he was always the subject of the Emperor who bequeathed to his successors the care of defend-

ing Rome against the Lombards, and in consequence of this the Popes called the Franks to their aid. The first juridical data of the temporal dominion rest on the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, which I will take for granted, though they also are contested, because the question bears little upon my inquiry. The aid of the Franks was not requested by the Popes alone, but by *the Popes, the Senate, and the people of Rome*, which is testified by the letter they wrote to King Pepin. And the donation was made *to the Church, to the blessed Peter, and to the Roman Republic*, as is testified by the letter which Pope Stefano wrote to King Pepin in 755; nor did the gift confer the rights of sovereignty, for history proves that Charlemagne and his successors continued to exercise them. From the year 846 to 998 Rome was a prey to anarchy; five Popes, Formosus I., Boniface V., Stephen VI., Romanus I., Theodorus I., were first elevated to the chair, and then massacred by factions, whilst frequent conspiracies, frequent insurrections, simony, and disgraceful acts, smoothed for the Germans the road to Italy, and prepared the triumphs of the Othoni.

Otho the Great decreed that *the clergy and Roman nobility* should swear to observe the canons before they elected the Pope, and that the Pope, after he was elected, should not be consecrated until he had sworn before the Imperial Commissioners *to respect the rights of the clergy, of the people, and of the Emperor*. Clement II., Damaso IX., Leo IX., Victor III. were elected Popes by authority of the Emperor, and as feudal institutions became triumphant, the civil power not only gained an ascendancy over the Pope, but over the Church, until Gregory VII. emancipated it, and raised the Papacy to an astonishing height. The pre-eminence of the priesthood over the empire takes its date from Gregory VII.; then follows the

donation of the Countess Matilda, to which succeed the contentions and struggles of the Emperors, of the nobles, and of the Communes with the Popes; but still the Emperors continue to exercise the rights of sovereignty in Rome, by means of Vicars elected by themselves. In process of time the Emperors gave permission to the Popes to elect Imperial Vicars, but they required that before entering into office *they should receive their investiture from them*, and should swear *fidelity to the empire*. Innocent III. broke through this bond, but still the Emperor maintained prefects in the states of the Church, and invested *feudatories* there who were not subject to the sovereignty of the Pope. Their sovereignty was afterwards determinately opposed and curbed in Rome by the people, who, in the twelfth century, restored the Republic, and as they had lost the right of taking part in the election of the Pontiff, which was vested in the College of Cardinals by the constitution of Nicholas II., they prevented the Pope, in their turn, from interfering in the administration of the Commune. Many were the disturbances, frequent the scandals, and serious the seditions which then took place. Innocent III. was compelled to fly to Anagni; Lucius II. died a violent death; Clement III. was forced to come to terms with the Roman Republic; the right of presentation to vacant benefices was denied to Gregory IX.; Martin IV. was consecrated at Orvieto, because the people would not allow him to enter Rome. In those times the sovereignty did not imply power to govern; whether Pope or Emperor was the Sovereign, it was the Commune that governed; the Sovereign was a protector, and not a master. Nor had the State of the Church a unity like those of Florence, Venice, and Milan; it was composed of a union of provinces, each of which was governed by its own constitution; the Cardinal Legates whom the Pope sent thither did not govern, they only performed the duties of arbi-

trators when they were called upon to do so. Rome itself had a Senate and a General Council elected by the people, which governed the Commune; the Church was sovereign, the Pope a prince, but the Government was not, and did not style itself, papal.

The Holy See having been transferred by Clement V. to Avignon, in 1305, the States of the Church constituted themselves into so many small Republics or petty independent Principalities, and Rome, though its municipal institutions were less free and less secure than those of other cities, was governed by a Senator. Even foreigners could be elected to the dignity of Senator of Rome: Louis of Savoy, King Robert, Louis of Bavaria, filled the office. In vain did Cola di Rienzi afterwards attempt to extend the Municipal Institutions, and to restore the Tribunes and the Republic. In the lapse of years, not only the sovereignty of the Popes was abased, but the spiritual authority of the Church was so trodden under foot, that the Court at Avignon judged it would be advisable to restore and strengthen its temporal power in order that it might resist the encroachments which the civil power was making upon the ecclesiastical; it therefore sent Cardinal Albornoz to Italy in the year 1333 to carry this object into effect. He accomplished it partly, but the Communes remained free, the feudatories *mediatised sovereigns;* Rome itself admitted the temporal sovereignty of the Church on condition that neither the Pope nor his Legate should exercise any temporal office or jurisdiction there. Fresh contests and rebellions and foreign invasions followed, with many and varied stipulations, under which the Legates of the Pope secured guarantees, privileges, and special jurisdiction for the Court and the clergy, but in which they also confirmed the liberty of the Communes, which Bologna, Perugia, and other cities preserved to a very ample

extent. The Commune of Rome, which had a weak constitution, alone became subservient by degrees; Porcari failed in his endeavour to restore its rights. As only the shadow of power was preserved, together with an ill-secured right of revision of the administration, it fell at last into servitude, so that in the middle of the fourteenth century the clergy became the governors. The Cardinals, who at first were the parish priests of Rome, having become haughty, rapacious, and the leaders of armies, and wishing to participate in the sovereignty and authority of the Pope, agreed upon these articles in the conclave which was held after the death of Martin V.

"We all and singular, the undersigned Cardinals, swear and promise to God and to His Saints, and we promise to the Holy Church, that if any of us shall be elected Pope, he shall, immediately after his election, swear and promise sincerely, without reservation and in good faith, to cause to be observed, and effectually to fulfil, the undermentioned articles, and to give to the Cardinals within three days after his Coronation, a Bull in perpetual memory of the deed, which shall have the authority of a decretal and a constitution, to which inviolable observance shall be given in perpetuity; nor shall it be possible to set it aside without the express consent of the majority of the Cardinals assembled in conclave, of which consent their signatures shall bear witness.

"I. The Pope shall reform the Roman Court in its head and in its members, as often and whenever the Cardinals shall require, and he shall observe the reform as a law; nor shall he be able, without the advice and consent of the majority of the Cardinals, to remove the Court from Rome, from place to place, from province to province, from country to country.

"II. The Pope shall call, or cause to be called, the General Council, solemnly and in due form, in the place and at the

time appointed by the Council of the Cardinals, and in it shall reform, or cause to be reformed, the Universal Church with respect to its faith, its life, and its usages, as well with respect to the secular clergy and regulars as to the religious and military orders, as well with regard to temporal princes as to communities, in all that appertains to the jurisdiction and the provisions of the Church.

"III. The Pope shall not create new Cardinals, except in accordance with the forms and regulations sanctioned by the Council of Constance, which he shall be under an obligation to observe, unless it shall appear desirable, by the advice and consent of the majority of the Cardinals, to do otherwise.

"IV. The Cardinals shall have the right to express their opinion freely to the Pope; the Pope shall not be able to do them any violence, or allow any to be offered either to their person or possessions. Neither shall he make any alteration in their rank or emoluments, except in virtue of the express advice and consent of the majority, nor shall he have power to condemn any one, unless he be first convicted by the prescribed number of witnesses laid down in the Constitution of Pope Sylvester.

"V. The Pope shall not in any way appropriate, or permit to be appropriated, the property of the Cardinals, Prelates, and other members of the Court, who shall die during the period that they belong to the Court, but he shall permit that, according to the right and the customs observed in many kingdoms and territories, it shall be administered in accordance with the will of the deceased, leaving it to the conscience of each to bequeath his property as he pleases, except only in the case of those Religious who may have made abdication of their own will, and whose property shall pass to those to whom it falls by custom, right, or privilege; he shall not appropriate anything which is connected with the rights of the defunct Car-

dinals, nor shall he permit them to be usurped by others, but he shall leave the Cardinals free to transfer them to their heirs testate or intestate, every other abuse being abolished.

"VI. The Pope shall receive homage from the feudatories, vicars, captains, governors, senators, commandants, and from all the officials of the city of Rome, not only for himself and his successors, but for the whole body of Cardinals, with all and singular the necessary forms, so that when he vacates his Chair, the cities, towns, territories, castles and fortresses may be consigned to the authority of the Cardinals freely and without opposition.

"VII. The Pope shall permit the Cardinals freely to receive the half of all the several taxes, rights, revenues, and emoluments whatsoever belonging to the Roman Church, according to the grant made by Nicholas IV., which he shall observe in all and everything; he shall not bestow any of the lands of the Roman Church in vicariate, in fee or by lease; he shall not make war, or enter into any alliance with any king, temporal prince, or community whatever; he shall not impose new taxes or new duties on the city of Rome; he shall not grant to any king or other temporal prince or community, any exemption or infringement of ecclesiastical liberty, so far as it relates to the clergy, churches, or property belonging to the churches and holy places, without reasonable cause, and without the advice and consent of the majority of the Cardinals.

"VIII. The Pope shall not alienate any right in any place whatsoever belonging to the Church of Rome; neither shall he confirm or approve any alienation made of the rights belonging to other churches, religious or military orders, without the advice and consent of the majority of the Cardinals.

"IX. Finally, in all cases, in which the advice and consent of the Cardinals are required by law, this advice and consent must

be certified in Bulls and Apostolical letters, as well as by express mention of the advice and consent given, as by the signature of the Cardinals."

I have quoted at full length, and in all their integrity, these articles, by which, since the fifteenth century, the conditions both of the sovereignty and of the temporal dominion of the Popes have been changed, through the Cardinals taking part in the Government, sharing in the revenues of the Church, and deciding alike on spiritual and temporal affairs.

X.

It is well known how, from that period, the Court of Rome, more or less intent on the acquisition or increase of worldly advantages, frequently abused the spiritual by turning it into an instrument of the temporal power; the scandals occasioned at one time by dishonest practices, at another by wars, at another by raising to the throne and enriching ambitious or wicked relations, are well known, as also are the misfortunes which the Church and the Clergy suffered from these causes. The temporal sovereignty of the Pope went on extending and consolidating itself on the ruins of the liberty of the Communes, or of the authority of the feudal Lords and the Vicars; but during the period in which the disgraceful system, known by the name of *nepotism*, prevailed, the Government was administered more by the relatives and favourites of the Pope than by the Clergy. Valentino was the real master during the Pontificate of Alexander VI. The Medici, their relations, their bastards, and the Florentine politicians, were administrators of the temporal affairs of the Pope during the Pontificates of Clement VII. and Leo X.; the Farnese family reigned during the lifetime of Paul III., the Caraffas during the Pontificate of Paul IV.

The cupidity of the papal families continued for some time, but at last their princely ambition was either diminished or repressed, and Government by the Clergy was organised, and assumed an amended and prominent form. The Church possessed the dominion; the Pope and Cardinals the rights of sovereignty; the Cardinals, the officials of the Court, the Prelates, and the Congregations, enjoyed the power, the pomp, and the privileges of government. Then followed all the hierarchy, lay and ecclesiastical. It was composed of the Cardinal Secretary of State, the Treasurer, the Cardinal for Patronage, the Governor of Rome, the Secretary for Briefs, the Secretary for Memorials, the President of the Apostolic Chamber, the Fiscal Procurators, the Secretary for Latin Letters, the Commissioner of the Apostolic Chamber, the President of *Buon Governo*, the Secretary of the Consulta, the Auditor of the Chamber, &c., &c., &c. It also comprised the College of Clergy of the Chamber, of the Protonotaries attached to it, of the Referendaries of both the Segnaturas, of the Capitular Notaries, of the Consistorial Advocates, and of other like Colleges; and of the Congregations of the Holy Office, of the Segnatura, of the Rites, of the Index, of Ecclesiastical Affairs, of Studies, of the Bishops and Regulars, of the *Buon Governo*, of Roads, Bridges, and Waters; of the Sacra Consulta, and so on.

This organisation, this oligarchy, has not materially altered during the lapse of time and the course of events; nor was it affected even by the French Revolution or by the innovations which Pius VII. and Consalvi introduced after the restoration; nor by the reforms of Pius IX., nor by the Statute, nor by the Revolution of 1848 and 1849, nor by the *Motu proprio* of Portici. The shell of the Government is changed indeed in some degree, but the kernel remains the same. Now, if we

would judge of an institution, it is clear that on the one hand we must examine into its substance, and on the other hand it is necessary we should have regard, not only to the circumstances, whether good or evil, of which it has been the originator or the minister during the course of time, but to the ultimate results and the manifest effects which it has produced either through vices inherent in its system, or through the rust of time and successive corruptions. Therefore, if we are desirous to form a judgment on the temporal dominion of the Pope, and on Government by the Clergy, we must especially remember its ultimate results are these: that scepticism has its centre in the State of Rome; that assassinations and traitorous vengeance are a habit, plunder and theft a profession, smuggling a trade, blasphemy an elegant form of speech, faction a religion, revolution a fashion.

XI.

The principal points which we have hitherto considered prove that the Church continued and flourished for a long time without any temporal dominion; that the Popes governed it independently, though they were subjects of the Emperors; that, when raised to the throne, they did not, for a long period, exercise any supreme power over the liberties of the people; and finally, that the Government by the Clergy, which originated in later centuries, and has continued with varying fortune up to the present day, has brought the State of Rome to the extreme of misery. Therefore, as they are in error who confound the Divine origin and nature of the Pontificate with the nature of that Kingdom which exists in time, and receives injury from time; and as we ought not to look upon the Church in the light of an accomplice in the evils of a Go-

vernment which does not accomplish even one single object for which every Government is instituted, we must judge of its temporal dominion by those criteria alone on which we found our judgments with regard to every other temporal institution. When M. de Montalembert, the most eloquent orator of the Catholic party, asserted from the Tribune of the French Chamber that *legitimate Governments were alone possible*, he condemned, though he did not perceive it, the Pontifical Government, which is *impossible* to such an extent that it would most certainly fall, if Europe, in her fear of fresh universal disturbances, did not prop it up with foreign armies. But if this Government be impossible on the terms on which it exists, reason demands that we should inquire if it could regain its vigour by assuming a different form, and by adapting itself to those modifications which the times, civil prudence, and prevailing opinions require. It is true that the warmest advocates of the Court of Rome are constantly prophesying that to modernise it would be equivalent to deposing the Pope and insulting the Church; but a wise man ought to disregard such opinions as being those of every sect which, by substituting passion for reason, gets entangled in a labyrinth of error. If, then, we wish to discover some possible reform for the Government, and some possible remedies for the serious infirmities of the State, we must look into the nature of the last revolution, and the prevailing feeling of the people.

XII.

It was only during the period which immediately preceded the movement in Italy that those doctrines came into repute which aimed at re-establishing the temporal dominion of the Pope in the favourable opinion of the people, by predicting

that it would befriend civilisation, and constitute itself an ally of the people in their eager efforts to attain independence. Those doctrines were the foundation of the extraordinary applause which the timid reforms of a new Pontiff immediately excited in the State of Rome and in Italy; and the reforms, in their turn, strengthened those doctrines, by encouraging the hope that the course thus auspiciously commenced, would proceed towards its fulfilment. The public mind was raised to a still higher pitch of enthusiasm when the Austrians insanely occupied Ferrara, and the Pontifical Court not only publicly complained of the outrage, but made a semblance of wishing to resist such violence by force of arms. Then it was evident that the foundation of the unusual affection shown by the people towards the Pope was really hatred of the foreigner, and thus the petty affair of Ferrara became a spark which kindled a great national conflagration; thus Cardinal Ciacchi and Cardinal Ferretti unconsciously prepared the insurrection in Lombardy; and thus Pius IX. conquered the hearts of his subjects rather by the pretence of a camp at Forli, and the solemn benediction with which he encouraged Italy from the Balcony of the Quirinal, than by his reforms and the Constitution. So true is this, that when the Pope had made it evident, during the heat of the war of independence, how unwilling he was to take part in that national enterprise to which his words and deeds had spurred on his people, they were instantly alienated from him, and to so great a degree that the Constitution proved itself to be such an exceedingly feeble safeguard of the throne, that the assassination of one single man was sufficient to overthrow it. From the 29th of April to the 16th of November, the tottering power of the Prince of Rome was propped up only by such occurrences as gave some satisfaction to the national feeling; these were my own mission to Charles Albert, the decree which gave him the com-

mand of the Pontifical troops, the letter of Pius IX. to the Emperor Ferdinand, the Embassy of Monsignor Morichini to Vienna, the protest of Cardinal Soglia against the invasion of Welden, and the expulsion of the Austrians from Bologna. Even subsequent to the 16th of November, those who carried on negotiations with Gaeta with liberal intentions, not only demanded the restitution of the Statute, but introduced conditions of an Italian league and an Italian union, and the Municipality of Bologna, while it had the Austrians on its back, expressed the national wish, even after the restoration of the Papal throne. These circumstances consequently prove how vain it is to endeavour to devise effectual remedies for the disease of the State by divorcing it from the nation.

The neutrality, in fact, which some advise, however it may be adapted to the peace of States consisting of a single nation, or of those which, without possessing all the permanent features of nationality, form one territorial aggregate, united by civil and economic ties, cannot be adapted to a State placed in the centre of a nation; to a State in which the people are animated by national affections, and are more impulsive and ardent in their nature than the rest of the people of Italy. It is impossible to maintain the neutrality of the State of Rome, without maintaining a garrison in it composed of foreign troops; the most liberal constitution, the greatest civil advantages, the most subtle and rare forethought, might secure it, so long as opportunities for national redemption were wanting, but on the very day when it should please God to send the opportunity, the Prince would anew endanger his throne unless he were to accept it. If national life be not befitting to cosmopolitan spiritual authority, the Pontiff virtually abdicates the sovereignty of an Italian State; if the Prince of the State of Rome make an alliance with the enemies of the nation, he must necessarily run the risk of sharing their fate.

XIII.

I say, then, that the first condition necessary to the existence of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes in Italy is harmony with national life, and alliance with the nation in peace and in war. Another indispensable condition is the civil emancipation of the laity. The Roman people will never be at rest as long as they are governed by the clergy, that is to say, by a caste which vows to detach itself from the world, while it aspires to the privilege of managing worldly affairs. Now, this privilege not only humiliates, irritates, and excites the laity to rebellion, so as to be a constant cause of disorders in the State, but also occasions manifest injury to religious belief. Bossuet remarked, long ago, that the German people hated the bishops, not because they were pastors of souls, but because they were their sovereigns. What Bossuet said of the bishops of Germany may be said of the cardinals, the bishops, the prelates, and the priests, who have the privilege of governing the State of Rome; in fact, the clergy are hated and despised to such a degree, that a real moral schism exists between the priest and the citizen. There is no part of the world in which the Pope is less respected than in the country where he exercises temporal sovereignty, because the worst kind of government is carried on there in his name, there the gallows are raised, there prescriptions are in force; there the lash is inflicted in the name of the Pope. Imprecations against the Government ascend to the Prince, who is Pope, and the majesty of the Pontiff is on the wane. The bishops are little loved, little respected, because a man is made a bishop, who, a short time previously, was at the head of the police, and because the pastor leaves his flock to take up the sword; the citizen thus easily slides from moral into religious schism, and it may be clearly

seen that at the very time when religious belief is gaining ground elsewhere, scepticism is raising its head higher and higher in the States of the Pope, and religious observances are neglected or derided. To say that if cardinals, bishops, and priests were not to govern, spiritual authority would not be independent, is as much as to assert that it is not independent in the lay States; it is tantamount to saying, that every bishop ought to be a temporal prince in his province, every priest in his parish.

Representative Government is another indispensable condition of the Pontifical sovereignty; absolute Government places every monarchy in peril, because the errors which it commits, the evils which it causes, the hatred which it foments, not only weaken the Prince, but act as a lever to overthrow the throne, and where laws do not exist to moderate the violent will of the Government, the violent will of the multitude rages, and revolution is the fearful but logical consequence of absolutism. Now, as no monarch is so much in need of the love, obedience, and reverence of his people as the Prince who is also Pontiff, and since it is necessary to the integrity of his authority and spiritual majesty, that no one should be able to attribute to him the fatal mischances, errors, and misdeeds of his Government, it follows that representative institutions are more necessary to the Papal than to any other monarchy; and, in point of fact, it was only when the Papacy allowed a large measure of liberty to the Communes, that it was regarded with satisfaction by the people, for then it acted more as protector than as master; that is to say, it adapted itself to those free institutions which were valued as guarantees of the rights of the people.

Some affirm that certain public liberties, the freedom of the press, for example, and of the tribune, are adverse to religion;

and M. de Montalembert, who has recently written a book to prove from the data of reason and of history, that representative Government advances the interests of the Church, takes care to make it understood that this principle does not apply to the Papal States.* But if it be true, as it doubtless is, that liberty benefits religion, it cannot be maintained, without asserting a paradox, that it is injurious where the Church has her supreme seat, otherwise it would be necessary to say, that it benefits at a distance, and not near at hand, or else that the Church of the State of Rome is not the Church of France or Belgium, or that the Roman people are a race predestined by God to be deprived of liberty to the end of time. On the other hand, if all the citizens in the State of Rome (thanks to free institutions) were to enjoy common rights, the clergy would always have pre-eminent authority over the minds of men, through the nature of their ministry, and by the innate strength of their Constitution, seeing that, even in the midst of liberty and common rights, they hold the high privilege of moral authority. For if the layman speak against religion, the priest has not only the platform free to him, as to every other citizen, but he has also the pulpit, where the holiness of the place and the piety of the faithful sanctify his words; if various sects disturb the consciences of any by their errors, the priest can calm, console, restore them all; if the press propagate error, not only can every priest effectually combat it by his talents and learning, but he may use his spiritual authority, and prohibit the faithful from reading all such writings as he may deem pernicious.

* "Nous sommes bien loin de dire ou de croire que le régime parlementaire convienne aux peuples d'Italie, soit dans le présent, soit dans l'avenir."—*Des Intérêts Catholiques*, p. 160.—Tr.

XIV.

Whilst turning my attention to the best means for establishing the temporal dominion of the Pope, I have proceeded on the only hypothesis which is reasonable, namely, that the Pope should be an Italian prince, that his Government should be composed of laymen, and that his people should enjoy all those civil advantages which every people do, or, if they do not, may enjoy. But here I ought to add, that if this idea were to be carried into execution, either through any fortunate circumstance, or ardent love of a Pope for his country, or through an act of arbitrary power, the State would not even then be secure, if the reform were not based on a new Constitution of the Sovereignty. Whilst the articles which I have quoted above, and others like them, are (if I may use the word) the *Magna charta* of the Papal monarchy, and whilst the confusion between the two powers remains incarnate in all those Colleges, those Religious Congregations, and those Officials, in which it is incarnate at the present day, all reforms will be transient and ineffectual. If Pius IX. had had sufficient strength of character, and if the times had permitted it, he might perhaps have been able to transform gradually the substance of the organisation, but the same experiment cannot be made twice; for when the attempt has once failed, it destroys all faith in the doctrine from which it sprang; opinions are changed; nay, the trial which has been made, has rather served to show that neither a Pope, actuated by good intentions (for no one could have had better motives than Pius IX.), nor a political Statute is sufficient, as long as a Constitution is in force which vitiates every possible form of Government. Therefore it would be necessary to change the Statute of the Sovereignty, before proceeding to

change the political Statute of the Monarchy, and so to provide that the blending and confusion of the two powers should be destroyed in that oligarchy which rules conjointly with the Pope, and governs more than the Pope. Until this is effected —and God alone knows when it will be—I am of opinion that it will not be possible to devise a settled Government, even if the hypothesis of which I have spoken were to be realised.

Whilst engaged in devising such expedients as seemed most likely to restore at least temporary order to the State of Rome, some advised that the larger portion should be detached, leaving to the Pope, Rome, and a small circle round it. If we were to stop at temporary expedients, this plan would appear to be the least objectionable. In point of fact, those who affirm that a temporal dominion is necessary to the independence of the Church, cannot surely pretend that it must be inexorably extended over three millions of people, or be able to persuade themselves that there is a certain superficies, limit, or number of subjects, below which independence is gone. If it rested on the vastness of territory, on the number of subjects, and on the force of armies, it would be requisite to give the Pope the sceptre of a great nation; if it were necessary to the independence of the Church that no other State should be equal in point of strength to that governed by the Pope, it would then be requisite to give the Pope a State in the centre of every nation, or to cut up all nations into so many petty States, none of which should be larger or more powerful than that of the Pontiff. I do not imagine that this can be the intention of Europe, however great may be the expressions of devotion which it makes to the Church and the Papacy. We heard strange opinions in the year 1849, and beheld things beyond the reach of human conjecture, but we have never yet heard, that in order to consolidate the independence of the

Pope, Austria contemplated restoring him the countries on the left bank of the Po, nor that France proposed to give him Avignon, and the district of Venosa; nor that the Duke of Parma thought of ceding to him the throne of the Farnese; nor that the King of Naples had resumed the payment of the tribute due to him from a vassal. If, then, it be sufficient to the independence of the Pope, as some think, that he should not be subject to any temporal power, a small territory, similar to that of many of the German Princes, would be sufficient for him. The very purpose of maintaining a neutral position would be much less difficult of accomplishment, in proportion as the territory was small, and the number of subjects few; and in like manner it would be much less difficult to carry out those peculiar forms of government which the Court of Rome believes to be suitable to it. I know well that the idea of separating Rome from Italy is considered almost as a felony, and a national blasphemy; but I am not now speaking of what is the feeling of my own mind, nor am I considering what would be the highest good; I am reasoning on the opinions of others, and I am seeking what would be the least evil in the least improbable schemes. I shall be accused of timidity, of course, or of even a still greater sin, by those who will not allow it to be supposed that the sovereignty of the Pope can last. But prudent readers will comprehend that as Italy has now been declaiming for six centuries, in prose and in verse, against the sovereignty of the Pope, I cannot be content to repeat lamentations and auguries, and to pacify the people by saying, "Let us rise and destroy it." And as it is very improbable that it will very soon be destroyed, it is my duty to reason on probable changes. The Roman Empire dragged on its miserable existence during a long period before it finally perished; it is only a few years since its name resounded at

Vienna, to the insult of Rome and Italy. The death struggles of empires are not to be counted by minutes like the last agonies of men, but by centuries. It may be, indeed, that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is in its agonies; it may be, it is condemned by universal opinion; still I believe that many generations will pass into the tomb before it perish utterly. The very same organisation which causes the blending and confusion of the two powers, whence arise the principal evils of this Government, that very same organisation preserves its consumptive life with a power which no human institution ever had before, or will have again. If all empires governed by priests have resisted death for a long period, that of the Catholic priesthood, which is administered by the strongest of all hierarchies with wonderful unity, will resist longer than any other empire.

I shall be taxed with timidity by some, who think that the Pope might migrate from Italy, and carry his See and his throne elsewhere. But as the Pope is Pope only because he is Bishop of Rome, I do not clearly see how a scheme of this kind can be drawn up, without devising at the same time revolutions on which the fancy may build its castles in the air, but on which reason cannot base its judgments. An illustrious Italian writer advised the Pope, not long ago, to cast from him the weight of the temporal power; but he did not perceive that the Pope cannot do so as long as the present Constitution of the Papacy lasts, and that it would be requisite his advice should be adopted by the whole oligarchy which rules in Rome. Though a Pope might make for himself *il gran rifiuto*,* he

* "Guardai, e vidi l'ombra di colui,
Che fece per *viltate* il gran rifiuto."—DANTE, *Inferno*, Can. 3, v. 59.
Boccaccio and other writers think that Dante refers in this passage to

could not do it for others. Whatever may be thought of this, certain it is, that if it pleased God to work a miracle, by ordaining that Pope, and Cardinals, and Prelates, and Clergy, and Religious Congregations, should spontaneously renounce the sovereignty, the power and the government, our controversy would be at an end, and the problem solved on which we are meditating. However, as we are considering things as they are, and what is possible and probable, we ought not to build schemes on miracles which the Omnipotent alone can perform.

XV.

In thus touching briefly on very serious subjects, each of which would require ample treatment, I have no other intention, Sir, but that of recommending them to your meditation, and to that of your country, the most sagacious among modern nations. I am so far from presuming that I have at all approximated to the solution of the problem, that I feel I have scarcely touched upon the greater difficulties connected with it. For even supposing the mind could confidently rely on the practicability of either of these temporary arrangements, it would still be in a state of uncertainty and doubt when con-

St. Celestino, who was induced to resign the Papacy a few months after his elevation to it, in compliance with the treacherous advice given him by his successor Boniface VIII., who was then a cardinal and a very ambitious and dangerous man. Being desirous to obtain the Papacy, he worked upon the mind of the Pope by demonstrating to him that he was doing injury to his soul in holding an office for which he had not sufficient capacity, and it is said that he caused voices to be heard at night in the Pope's chamber, which addressed him as messengers of God, saying, "Renounce, abdicate, Celestino!" Accordingly, the cowardly Pope abdicated his See, "e fece per viltate il gran rifiuto."—If we may believe Boccaccio, St. Celestino was not canonised at the time Dante wrote his "Divina Commedia."—Tr.

templating the difficulty of the means. The questions which are in agitation respecting the sovereignty of the Pope are not Roman and Italian questions alone, they are European questions, and hence they do not come within the scope of either our will or our means. A few refugees, cheered on by the rabble of Italy, may dream in London of constructing at their pleasure a republic, one and indivisible, with Rome as its capital, but those who have not lost all power of discernment must perceive, that these are but the delirious fancies of weak minds. Any acts of violence whatever, which might be committed by a people stung to desperation, would not have power to expel the Pope at present, because if the Catholics were not able to restore him, heretics would. Nor is this owing so much to the nature of the Governments which prevail in Europe, as to the nature of the problem itself, in which the most grave and universal questions, religious, international and political, are involved. If democracy (I do not mean certain democratic factions) were to gain the ascendancy throughout Europe, even the new Governments would be disposed to interfere in Roman affairs. This would be the case if the Pope possessed a State in any European territory whatever; it would be still more sure to happen in Italy, because every serious movement, every important change, which takes place there, affects the nations of Europe, and awakens fear and jealousies which are not easily lulled. Italy will perhaps never have again such a favourable opportunity for recovering her vitality as she had in the year 1848, but still, even if she had known then how to triumph over her enemies, and had succeeded in doing so, we have small reason to believe that the envious and jealous would have allowed her to settle her own national affairs without their interference. It was clear even then, that the

very democrats of France and Germany were not friendly to her; the Pope was still in Rome, and seemed to be allied with Italy, when the Constituent Assembly of Frankfort and Kossuth encouraged and aided Austria, when French factions invaded Savoy, and when M. de Lamartine was intending to annex not only Savoy but the province of Nice. No sooner was violence offered to the Pope, than there was not a single European Government which did not condemn it: hence, I think, that if it be difficult for Italy, at her own pleasure, to succeed in becoming an entirely independent nation even when she has opportunity, strength, and courage at her command, it is almost impossible, so to speak, that she should be able at her own pleasure to change or alter, much less destroy by violence, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. I believe, indeed, that she will not be able to arrive at the solution of the problem, except with the aid of time, and by means of modifications, of expedients, and of an unanimous agreement among the Great Powers. I reason calmly with respect to the present condition of Italy and of Europe, and I do not picture to myself universal cataclysms, since it is impossible to reason on the inscrutable designs of Providence.

XVI.

If the popular violence which certain factions advise (trusting to the excitement that will not allow difficulties to be seen and that defies dangers), be ineffectual to overthrow or correct the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and Government by the Clergy, the designs of those who conspire against the spiritual dominion, and make war against religious belief, are also full of

folly and greatly to be reprehended. I am not arguing here about matters of theology or religion, and I fully respect the rights of conscience and all sincere convictions, but I condemn and despise all vain efforts directed against that unity of belief which is one of the principal elements and characteristics of nationality, and which, even if it be an insufficient bond of concord, is at least a preventive of greater discords in Italy. The Catholic faith is, it is true, less vigorous in Italy than elsewhere, and unbelief fixes its chief abode in the Papal States; but this, which appears to the short-sighted the first step towards a violent schism, is, on the contrary, one of the most powerful causes which prevent religious sects from shooting up, because a more strong and active belief is necessary to produce a change in religion, than what is requisite for enabling us to live or die in the creed in which we were born. Protestant proselytism in Italy is recruited from the ranks of sceptics. I know a certain person who gave this reason of his apostasy to a friend, that he did not believe in anything! Behold this, O ye undaunted apostles, who believing nothing, or possessing no new creed, seize on the rag of an old creed to annihilate Catholic unity in Italy!

If the efforts be vain, the doctrines, also, are wicked, of those Sects which teach Italian youths the impious dogmas that deify man and inflate him with such pride that he believes himself to be a God, and adores himself in that Entity which they style humanity. These are the doctrines which, transferred into political systems, persuade men that the sovereign reason of the sovereign people is infallible, and which sanctify all the desires, all the passions of the being that they have deified. Thus it is that they annihilate Duty, by tying her down to earth when her sanction is derived solely from heaven.

Formerly, indeed, men fought for liberty, for glory, for religion; now, where these doctrines prevail, they fight obstinately only for happiness; they rage, they lie in wait, they assassinate each other, in order to snatch from one another, like wild beasts, a morsel of flesh. In the midst of this corruption, not only virtue but even anger and hatred become effeminate; envy alone is vigorous, envy alone domineers over the intellect and the heart. Many systems, many modern books, and conspiracies, and seditions, are nothing but the commentary of envy. Kingdoms are destroyed, republics are created, then these are overthrown in their turn, and despotism is installed, not for the purpose of defending or acquiring liberty and glory, but to satisfy covetousness, and to take from him who hath, to give to him who hath not. He who promises most luxury has the greatest number of disciples; but as no one ever has or ever will be able to satisfy those whose desires are not under the dominion of religion, morality, and duty, every party, every faction, every demagogue, every tyrant, is soon deserted by his friends and by fame. Thus seditions and conspiracies are perpetrated, and not a shadow of moral sense or of public morality is left. The Man of whom they have made a God, multiple and one, is indifferent even to chains, provided he has bread and the luxuries of life.

XVII.

But these doctrines, and the desperate acts to which I have alluded, are nourished by the desperate condition into which the people of the Roman State and the greater part of Italy are thrown. Therefore it is not sufficient to point them out and

condemn them; we must not look at present evils alone, but at future perils also, and devise means for removing or diminishing them. If a remedy be not speedily found for the great moral disorder which foolish and bad Governments produce, Italy will give, at some time or other, a most terrible example to Europe. Europe is stupified with opiates; she believes that the weight of her armies will crush the evil, but she does not see that while she remains satisfied with the immediate results of repression, she is preparing terrible sufferings for society; nor does she perceive that the State of the Pope is a fearful cancer, as it were, in the body politic of Italy and Europe.

Now, since it is manifest that such a state of things cannot continue as it is; since it is also evident that the corpse is kept upright only because France and Austria are supporting it with their armies; since the *equilibrium of Europe* is disturbed more than ever by the Austrian and French occupation; since the treaties of Vienna are everywhere violated, both in their substance and their force, can Europe, if she has either an iota of sense or a grain of foresight, long remain an idle and indifferent spectator of the mischief, which is increasing day after day, by gigantic steps? I do not invoke either pity for my fellow-countrymen or justice for my country; I only point out certain perils which lie before us, and not political perils alone, which brute force might remedy, but moral and social perils also. If the nations of Europe wish to save the Papacy from trials much more severe than those of 1848, they must set themselves with one accord to solve the problem of the temporal sovereignty in the best manner they are able. To await new revolutions, or war, or universal disturbance, in order to make a compromise, is not only senseless and cruel, but it is

seriously wrong, because in the meantime that moral disease is spreading which neither sword nor compromise can cure. I believe, then, that Europe is bound, both by duty and interest, to study the solution of the problem, and I believe, also, that this is the most important work of social and civil conservatism to which she can direct her attention.

XVIII.

I shall be severely blamed, Sir, for expressing these thoughts to you, by those who assert that certain factions have remedies ready prepared for the evils of Italy; that the enterprise of liberating her from the foreigner is an easy one, that it will be easy to send the Pope to Jerusalem, that triumph is at hand and certain. But as I trust that our Italian youth, who have been endowed by God with such splendid talents, will not close their eyes to the evident difficulties of the enterprise in which they have engaged, I have thought it my duty to express these opinions, so that they may not devote their noble gifts to the service of factions, but to that of their country; that they may correct fancy by contemplation, enthusiasm by reason, the muse of poetry by history; that they may temper courage with prudence, and impatience with forbearance. If it be an odious thing to be enslaved by regal despotism and by haughty courts, it is also an odious thing to be a slave to the despotism and the pride of the few, who, in the guise of Tribunes or Dictators, pretend to an empire over the hearts and minds of men, and deprive them of the liberty of thinking and reasoning. I cannot bring myself to believe that Italian genius has become so degenerate that the most noble minds and the most ardent hearts can do nothing else but rush on acts of desperation. I

cannot persuade myself that to keep up the courage of Italians it is necessary to dazzle them with promises, to feed them with flatteries, and to animate them with hopes of a fresh revolution at every returning spring.

I beg you to receive, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration and gratitude.

Yours most faithfully,

L. C. FARINI.

Turin, 20th December, 1852.

THE END.

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